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TACITUS DE VITA ET MORIBUS
JULII AGRICOLAE ET DE GERMANIA

TACITUS

AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE.

Wex's edition of the *Agricola* (1852) may be said to constitute a new landmark in the philological labors devoted to the elucidation of this biography. He incorporated what was still of value in the work of his numerous predecessors, and added not a little of his own to the improvement of the text and to a better understanding of its contents. Since his time the contributions made to the criticism and exegesis of the *Agricola*, and to Tacitus generally, have been very considerable, both in quality and quantity; but while the historical, ethnological, and syntactical material thus accumulated is satisfactorily exhaustive, the strictly *rhetorical* features of the *Agricola*, conspicuous though they are, have hitherto been persistently and inexplicably overlooked or ignored. And yet it must be evident that a student can at best acquire but a very superficial appreciation of the consummate artistic merits of this treatise if he remain in ignorance of the vital elements that make the *Agricola* the immortal masterpiece that it is.

I have, therefore, been at pains to illustrate and analyze, albeit under the restrictions necessarily imposed upon a college edition, all noteworthy rhetorical features in the style and structure of the *Agricola*, the synopsis in the Introduction being, for the reason given above, intentionally more full than might otherwise appear warranted in an edition of this nature. The discovery that Tacitus, in writing the *Agricola*, closely followed time-honored rhetorical canons for biographical composition was as great a surprise to me, who had once denied this on the basis of an examination of extant classical biographies, as it will doubtless be to others. I hope, however, that the necessarily brief review of the evidence given in the Introduction will suffice to carry conviction.

In the Notes I have endeavored to face every real difficulty and to omit no comment, wherever such would be welcome to the young student, and I trust that no wholly irrelevant matter has

been allowed to intrude. In not burdening the commentary with scrupulous acknowledgment for every real obligation incurred, imperative as this would be in an edition intended for scholars, I have ventured to follow a well-recognized precedent. Nor have I, for reasons of brevity, called attention, except in a few instances, to the existence of other interpretations than those, whether new or old, which I deemed sufficiently convincing to warrant acceptance. Under these circumstances I gladly take this opportunity of saying that, of all the editions accessible to me, I have found those of Wex, Peter, Andresen, and Furneaux especially helpful and suggestive; and I only regret that, having profited so much by their labors, I should have been compelled to dissent from their views so frequently, though I hope never without valid reasons. That I have again made every possible use of the admirable Lexicon Taciteum, unfortunately not yet finished, will be evident from my Notes.

The text has been subjected to a thorough revision, and may claim to represent an independent recension. It differs from that of Halm[4] in nearly sixty instances, the justification of these deviations being given, as briefly as possible, in a Critical Appendix. It is a matter of great regret that I had to be deprived of the benefit which the third known Ms. of the *Agricola*, discovered by Dr. R. Wuensch in Toledo, might have proved to be for the constitution of a better text than is now possible. But the most strenuous efforts to secure a copy, photograph, or collation have been alike unavailing, owing to the unfortunate attitude of the prelate of Toledo, who, though incapable of reading the Ms. himself, has absolutely prohibited its inspection, on the ground that a Ms. once made known loses all its value.

In conclusion, I have again the pleasure of acknowledging with gratitude the most welcome and valuable aid which my old friends, Professor John C. Rolfe of the University of Michigan and Professor Charles E. Bennett of Cornell University, have so ungrudgingly given to this book in its passage through the press.

A. GUDEMAN.

PHILADELPHIA,
June 1, 1899.

PREFACE

TO THE GERMANIA.

THE literature which has accumulated about this immortal treatise is well-nigh overwhelming, my own bibliography, though probably far from exhaustive, filling about fourteen printed pages. Under these circumstances there can be but little room for originality, and the chief task of an editor of a book of this nature will primarily consist in a careful sifting and an extensive condensation of the exegetical material furnished by generations of German scholars; for, with the possible exception of Fustel de Coulanges, no others seem hitherto to have contributed anything of real value to the elucidation of the *Germania*. But in spite of this fact, there still remain not a few passages which have in my judgment been uniformly misinterpreted, scholars being somewhat reluctant to recognize an *ars nesciendi*, or prone to read into the treatise of Tacitus what they strongly felt ought to be there. In all these instances, as well as in many others in which traditional views seemed to me unwarranted, I have, even at the risk of incurring the charge of presumption, not hesitated to give my own conclusions, although the scope and aim of this edition precluded their detailed justification.

It is, of course, quite impossible to enumerate all the scholars to whom I am under obligations, and I can, therefore, in this place mention only those works to which I am specially indebted throughout. Of more recent commentaries, I have always had before me those of Baumstark, Muellenhoff (*Deutsche Alterth.*, Vol. IV.), Schweizer-Sidler, Zernial[2], E. Wolff, and Furneaux. I have also constantly consulted the works of Zeuss, Grimm, Waitz, Much, Golther, Baumstark's *Urdeutsche Alterth.*, Wackernagel, and Muellenhoff, *D. A.*, Vols. I.–III. Such monographs, disserta-

tions, programmes, etc., as I had been unable to secure, were happily accessible to me in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum, during the summers of 1898 and 1899. For the stylistic treatment I have as heretofore mainly relied upon my own collectanea.

The text of this edition, though it departs from that of Halm [4] in more than fifty places, is conservative, for in eighteen instances I return to the MSS., while in the others my readings are either not without some MS. authority, or else the correction is of the simplest description possible and imperatively demanded by the context or by Tacitean usage, as will be evident even from the necessarily brief discussion in the Critical Appendix.

Special pains have been bestowed upon the prosody of the proper names, so far as this may be determined by their occurrence in poetry and the Greek transliterations, conflicting though their evidence often is. The linguistic criteria so constantly employed I have found quite unreliable, partly because of the doubtful etymology of the names themselves, partly because they have passed through a process of Latinization with all the prosodical changes which that involved.

The innovation of superimposing the modern upon the ancient map, designed to obviate the frequent necessity or expediency of consulting two maps, will, I hope, commend itself to teachers and students alike.

In conclusion, I acknowledge with profound gratitude the invaluable benefit which this book, in its passage through the press, has received at the hands of my friends, Professors Charles E. Bennett and John C. Rolfe.

A. GUDEMAN.

PHILADELPHIA,
May 17, 1900.

INTRODUCTION TO THE AGRICOLA.

I.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF TACITUS.

Life. — P. Cornelius Tacitus seems to have been born of an equestrian family in northern Italy.[1] The date of his birth can be only approximately determined from a reference in the correspondence of Pliny the Younger, Tacitus's intimate and lifelong friend. In a letter addressed to Tacitus (*Epist.* VII. 20, 24) we are told that the latter, though *propemodum aequalis*, had already achieved a great oratorical reputation, while he himself was still *adulescentulus*. The allusion is quite vague, but as Pliny was born in 62 A.D., having reached his eighteenth year at the time of the destruction of Pompeji in 79 A.D., Tacitus cannot well have been born earlier than 54/55 A.D., a date which agrees with what little other biographical information we possess of him. He seems to have received his education in Rome, for it is all but certain that he was, like Pliny, a pupil of Quintilian. At all events, his earliest extant work, the *Dialogus de oratoribus*, published not later than the reign of Titus (79–81 A.D.), exhibits many clear traces of the influence of that great teacher.[2] According to his own statement, he served his forensic apprenticeship under two

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[1] It is a most curious fact that not a single great writer in Latin literature was a native Roman.

[2] See my Introd. to the *Dial.*, pp. xiii. f.

of the most illustrious advocates of the time, M. Aper and Julius Secundus, whom he has immortalized in the treatise referred to, being then about twenty years of age.

In 77 A.D., the already renowned orator was betrothed to the daughter of Agricola, the marriage[1] taking place shortly after, on the departure of his father-in-law for Britain.

About the same time began his official career. The passage in which Tacitus refers to this is tantalizingly brief and indefinite,[2] but it is probable that he first held the office of a *tribunus militum*, serving also as one of the *viginti viri*, a lower magistracy, given to men possessing the *census senatorius*, and usually the direct stepping-stone to the quaestorship. To this office he seems to have been appointed by Titus, about 80 A.D., the legal age being twenty-five. The dates of his tribuneship or aedileship are unknown, but in 88 A.D. he was present as *praetor* and *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* at the *ludi saeculares*.[3] In the following year Tacitus was absent from Rome, very probably in the capacity of propraetor of some minor province, possibly Belgium.[4] He did not return till after the death of Agricola, in 93 A.D.[5] The strained relations between Domitian and Agricola doubtless retarded Tacitus's further promotion, and he did not reach the consulship till 97 A.D., under Nerva. In 100 A.D. Tacitus and Pliny were associated in the impeachment of Marius Priscus, the proconsul of Africa. Some dozen or more years later he was

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1 *Agr.* 9, 28 f.

2 *Hist.* I. 1, *dignitatem nostram, a Vespasiano* (69–79) *incohatam, a Tito* (79–81) *auctam, a Domitiano* (81–96) *longius provectam non abnuerim.*

3 See *Ann.* XI. 11.

4 Plin. *N. H.* VII. 16, 17, 76, speaks of *Corneli Taciti equitis Romani Belgicae Galliae rationes procurantis.* This may well have been the historian's father.

5 Ch. 45, 4.

proconsul of Asia, as we learn from an inscription.[1] The date of his death is altogether unknown, but it cannot have been earlier than 116 A.D., as may be inferred from an allusion to the conquests of Trajan.[2]

Writings. — If we except the youthful but brilliant *Dialogus* and numerous speeches which the distinguished orator doubtless published from time to time, according to the prevailing custom, Tacitus's illustrious career as a writer begins with the *Agricola*, which appeared shortly after the death of Nerva (Jan. 27, 98 A.D.), although the entire work with the exception of the prooemium (1–3) and one passage at the close,[3] may well have been composed immediately after the death of Domitian.

In the same year there followed the *Germania*, the date being fixed by ch. 37, 5 ff. of that work.

The *Histories*, announced as in contemplation in the *Agricola* (ch. 3, 28–30), appeared between 105–109. They comprised the story of the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, but only the first four books and a fragment of the fifth, dealing with the year 69–70, have survived.

The *Annals* began with the death of Augustus, and concluded with the assassination of Nero in 68 A.D. Only bks. I.–IV., portions of V. and VI., and bks. XI.–XVI. are preserved, the entire narrative of the reign of Caligula, the beginning of that of Claudius, and the end of Nero's being lost.

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[1] See below.

[2] *Ann.* II. 61; IV. 4.

[3] Ch. 44, 4–11 has all the appearance of an afterthought, it being in the nature of a vaticinium post eventum, and ch. 45, 12, *non vidit*, etc., it seems, would very appropriately have followed immediately after *potest . . . effugisse*. The absence of the epithet *divus* in ch. 3, 13 need not imply that Nerva was still living when these words were penned. See note ad loc.

His design of writing the history of Augustus[1] and of Nerva and Trajan[2] seems to have been frustrated by his death; at least no such works existed in the time of St. Jerome (fourth century).

II.

THE LITERARY CHARACTER OF THE AGRICOLA.[3]

The opening chapter of the introduction deals exclusively with the biographical and autobiographical treatises of former times, the *Agricola* being expressly designated as a *vita defuncti hominis* at its close. Two other instances of biography are added at the beginning of the second chapter, and in the epilogue the biographical character of his work is again emphasized by the author.[4] But in spite of these explicit statements, modern scholars have persistently refused to accept Tacitus's own classification of this work, on the ground that the treatise flagrantly violates certain alleged canons of biographical composition, which must, of course, either have been unknown to Tacitus or deliberately ignored by him. But when the problem arose of assigning to it a more suitable designation, a great diversity of opinion was revealed, partly due to an habitual confusion with the question as to the purpose of the treatise. Eliminating this for the present from the discussion as irrelevant, we find that the principal objections against the assumption that the *Agricola* is a *biography* resolve themselves into *two*.

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1 *Ann.* III. 24.

2 *Hist.* I. 1.

3 See the more detailed discussion of the questions at issue in *Proceed. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, vol. XXVIII. (1897), pp. xlviii. ff., where also a full bibliography of the controversy will be found. Portions of this paper have been utilized in the above.

4 Ch. 46, 30, *Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus.*

It is asserted that the work contains too much historical matter for a biography and too many biographical features for a history. In the second place, the detailed account of the ethnology and geography of Britain, and the elaborate speeches put into the mouth of the Caledonian chieftain and of the Roman general on the eve of the decisive battle, are pronounced to be wholly out of place in a genuine biography. One scholar even went so far as to maintain that all these alleged irrelevant portions, to which he added the twenty-eighth chapter, commemorating the adventure of the Usipi, were not originally designed to form an integral part of this treatise, but represented certain preliminary studies of the author, the results of which were to be incorporated into his *Histories*, in the narrative of the British campaigns under Domitian. Apart from other considerations to be mentioned presently, this hypothesis makes it extremely difficult to understand why the last book of that work was not published till 109, if Tacitus had as early as 97 already begun the collection of his material for the reign of Domitian. As a matter of fact, we happen to know that as late as 106 he was still searching for information in connection with an event to be related under the year 79 A.D.[1]

But these objections are unwarranted, for not only do the alleged sections so confidently pronounced irrelevant subserve a definite and legitimate purpose, but — what has hitherto been overlooked — it can be shown that Tacitus has carefully conformed to the rules of rhetoric laid down for biographical composition.[2]

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[1] Cp. Plin. *Epist.* VI. 16, 1, *petis ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam, quo verius tradere posteris possis.*

[2] They are found scattered in the treatises of Hermogenes, Aphthonius, Theon, Doxopater, but especially of Menander's περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, collected in the *Rhetores Graeci* of Walz and of Spengel.

Biography, according to all our ancient authorities, belongs to the *epideictic* branch of literary composition, in particular the *encomium*, and its rules are illustrated, as was natural, in connection with the biography of a king, the so-called βασιλικὸς λόγος,[1] the rhetoricians usually citing as typical models the still extant *Agesilaus* of Xenophon and the *Euagoras* of Isocrates.[2] That the *Agricola* partakes of the character of an *encomium*, a merely cursory perusal could have confirmed, even if Tacitus had not expressly told us so himself.[3] In fact, the line of demarcation between a historical narrative and an encomium was a very slight one.[4]

The constituent parts of a regularly constructed *encomium* are the following:[5] 1. προοίμιον. 2. γένεσις, φύσις, ἀνατροφή.

These precepts present a stereotyped sameness, being often reproduced verbatim from earlier handbooks, and they are, one and all, ultimately derived from treatises reaching back of our era. The Romans developed no rhetorical systems of their own, but began in the days of Cicero and thereafter with ever-increasing assiduity to copy and follow the rhetorical canons of the Greeks. For a brief account of the above rhetoricians and others, see Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* ³, pp. 752 ff.

[1] That its essential features are common to biographical writing in general might have been taken for granted, even if Menander (*Rhet. Graec.* III. 369, 25 Sp. IX. 215 f. W.) had not expressly confirmed it: οὐ γὰρ ἴδιον τοῦτο μόνον τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ ἐγκώμιον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὴν πόλιν.

[2] E.g. *Rhet. Graec.* I. 164; IX. 420. 437–465 (a dozen times); II. 15. 446 f. 480; III. 551; IV. 52; VII. 906; IX. 220. 289 Wz. On the parallelisms to them in the *Agricola*, see below.

[3] Ch. 3, 31, *hic interim liber honori Agricolae . . . destinatus.*

[4] E.g. Doxopater in *Rh. Gr.* II. 413 Wz.: οὐδὲν διοίσει ψιλῆς ἱστορίας τὸ ἐγκώμιον, and esp. *Amm. Marcell.* XVI. 1, 3, *quidquid autem narrabitur quod non falsitas arguta concinnat sed fides integra documentis evidentibus fulta ad laudativam paene materiam pertinebit.*

[5] Cp. Hermogenes, I. 38 ff. W.; Menander, IX. 219 (= III. 371 Sp.); 237 f. (= 381 f.); 242 (= 385); 281 (= 413); 292 (= 420), Alexander, 333 W.; Aphthonius, I. 87 W.; Schol. in Aphthon. II. 616 W.

3. ἐπιτηδεύματα. 4. πράξεις. 5. σύγκρισις. 6. ἐπίλογος. Their order is definitely fixed only for the first, the second, and the last; in the arrangement of the others certain preferences are expressed, but otherwise considerable latitude is allowed. No rhetorically trained writer seems to have ventured to emancipate himself from this traditional norm, except in minor details; but in the handling of the subject matter, an author was less hampered, his treatment being naturally conditioned by countless considerations inherent in the theme itself, in the circumstances under which he wrote, and in the purpose he had in view.

Now a comparison between these rhetorical precepts and illustrations and the *Agricola* reveals the fact that Tacitus, as far as possible, followed similar models.

1. *Prooemium* (ch. 1–3). As already remarked, no rigid or precise rules for the introduction to the βασιλικὸς λόγος or any other of the many encomia are laid down, but instead a large number of suggestions is enumerated from which a choice might be made. The prooemium of the *Agricola* is one of exquisite art and originality, for not only does it impart considerable information of a strictly introductory nature, but, at the same time, it succeeds in giving that peculiar perspective in which Tacitus doubtless desired his readers to view the story of this hero.

2. Γένεσις, φύσις, ἀνατροφή. These subjects are discussed in ch. 4 f., the resemblance to Menander's illustrations being particularly striking,[1] a fact which, of course, does not invalidate the trustworthiness of the statements themselves. It is, moreover, not the identity of arrangement as such

[1] Theon, I. 229 W. (= II. 111 Sp.). μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον εὐθὺς περὶ εὐγενείας ἐροῦμεν (= ch. 4, 1 ff. vetere et inlustri . . . colonia . . . equestris nobilitas, etc.); Menander, IX. 219 f. (= III. 371), μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν ἐρεῖς τι καὶ περὶ φύσεως (this is given by Tacitus at the close, ch. 44, 22 ff.) . . . ἑξῆς . . . ἡ ἀνατροφή (= 4, 8 ff.) . . . δεῖ . . . τὴν φύσιν τῆς

which is noteworthy, for the very nature of things would prompt the insertion of these topics at the beginning, but rather the many parallelisms in details, thus suggesting traditional rhetorical models.

3. *Ἐπιτηδεύματα*. They are defined by Menander[1] as *ἄνευ ἀγώνων ἤθη*, and it does not seem accidental that by far the larger number of ethical or personal traits of Agricola is accumulated in the very next chapters in accordance with the rhetorical rules, and that there is, in fact, scarcely one of these characteristics which is not paralleled in Hermogenes, Theon, Menander, and others.[2]

4. *Πράξεις*. The next topic of the biographical encomium is the *πράξεις* or achievements of the hero,[3] but in the *Agricola* there follow ch. 10–13, dealing with the ethnology and geography of Britain. Thus it might seem that those who declared this to be an irrelevant episode could now even appeal to the laws of rhetoric as confirmatory of their view, but here another passage in Menander happily comes to our rescue which fully vindicates the discussion of these very subjects under this head,[4] a passage the more significant,

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ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ διεξελθεῖν (= ch. 4, 18 f. flagrantem animum, etc.) *ἐν ᾧ ἐρεῖς τὴν φιλομάθειαν . . . τὴν περὶ τὰ μαθήματα σπουδὴν . . . κἂν μὲν ἐν λόγοις ᾖ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ . . . τοῦτο ἐπαινέσεις* (= ch. 4, 18. 15. 18).

[1] Menander, IX. 220 W. (III. 372 Sp.).

[2] Hermogenes, I. 38 (II. 12) = Doxopater, II. 429, *ὅτι δίκαιος* (= ch. 9, 11) *ὅτι σώφρων* (= ch. 4, 21) . . . *ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, οἷον ποῖον ἐπετήδευσε βίον, φιλόσοφον* (= ch. 4, 16) . . . *ἢ στρατιωτικόν* (= ch. 5); Theon, I. 228 (II. 110); Menander, IX. 220 (= III. 372) *τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἤθους ἔμφασιν περιέχει οἷον ὅτι δίκαιος ἐγένετο ἢ σώφρων ἐν τῇ νεότητι* (= ch. 4, 21); IX. 225 (III. 374), *αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ διατραττόμενος* (= ch. 19, 30), *αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγῶν* (= ch. 18, 1), *σύμβουλος* (= ch. 18, 7); IX. 285 (III. 416) = ch. 9, 17, *σωφροσύνη* and *δικαιοσύνη* being repeatedly emphasized as essential characteristics of the subject of an encomium.

[3] Menander, IX. 220 (III. 372), *ἀκολουθεῖ τοίνυν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι λοιπὸν ὁ περὶ τῶν πράξεων λόγος.*

[4] IX. 223 (III. 373), *διαγράψεις δὲ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου καὶ*

because it is found in the chapter dealing with the βασιλικὸς λόγος, or biography.

But while the sections under notice are thus seen to be justified by rhetorical canons, Tacitus may at the same time have been led to insert them by still other motives. One such reason he seems to give himself,[1] still another may have been the example of Sallust, his great model at this stage of his career as a writer, who inserts a similar account of Africa in the *Jugurtha*[2] before proceeding to the πράξεις proper. Finally, this sketch subserves the purpose of acquainting the reader with the kind of people with whom a Roman general had to deal and the geographical conditions with which he had to contend.

The narrative of the πράξεις themselves (ch. 18–42)[3] is again in perfect conformity with the rhetorical norm, being divided into two parts,[4] Agricola's military exploits (ch. 18–40, 2) and his life as a private citizen (ch. 40, 3–42),[5] but in this part also modern scholars have found much to censure. It is contended in the first place, that the paragraph treating of the memorable exploit of the mutinous Usipian cohort (ch. 28) is but another irrelevant episode, interrupting the continuity of the story. Secondly, the two elab-

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φύσεις καὶ θέσεις χωρίων, ἐν οἷς οἱ πόλεμοι καὶ ποταμῶν δὲ καὶ λιμένων καὶ ὀρῶν, etc., and Cic. *Orat.* 20, 66, cited below.

[1] Ch. 10, 1 ff.

[2] Ch. 17–19, and Livy's description of Tempe, XLV. 6.

[3] On ch. 13–18 see below.

[4] Menander. *Rhet. Graec.* IX. 221 f. (III. 372), τὰς τοιαύτας τοίνυν διαιρήσεις πράξεις δίχα εἴς τε τὰ κατ' εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον.

[5] Menander. l.c. προθήσεις τὰς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐὰν ἐν ταύταις λαμπρὸς ὁ ἐπαινούμενος φαίνηται, and IX. 226 (III. 375). τέλος δ'ἐπιθεὶς ταῖς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πράξεσι μεταβήσῃ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. This is the arrangement followed in the *Agricola*, for the τὰ ἐν πολέμῳ formed the most glorious period in his career. The πράξεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ preceding them were not as noteworthy as those which he performed

orate speeches (ch. 30–32, 33–34) are said to be out of place in a biography.

The Relevancy of ch. 28. — As regards the *first* of these objections, it may be admitted that a modern writer would in all probability have relegated the item to a foot-note, if he had thought it worthy of mention at all, but this device was unknown to the ancients, who were compelled to insert such passages in the body of the text. The episode is, however, by no means as irrelevant as it might seem at first sight, for it admirably shows of what heterogeneous and unruly elements the army of Agricola was composed, thus enhancing the merit of a general capable of fusing them into an effective instrument of war, a fact subsequently emphasized by implication, in that the decisive battle was won wholly by the Roman auxiliaries, of whom the Usipi had constituted a part. Again, if the adventure was thought by Tacitus too noteworthy and interesting to be omitted, it could have found no other place without destroying the chronological sequence of events, which is rigidly adhered to throughout. Finally, the passage subserves a *dramatic* purpose. The author had been marshaling all his facts to lead up to the dénouement. With the closing words of ch. 27, 3, *atque ita inritatis utrimque animis discessum,* the no less excited reader feels the oppressive calm that precedes the storm, feels that the final crisis is at hand, and just as often in the Greek drama a soothing choral chant precedes the catastrophe, so Tacitus has here introduced the *magnum ac memorabile facinus* by way of diversion, before he proceeds in the next chapter to the detailed story of the final struggle, destined to prove so

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after his retirement, and, therefore, Tacitus passed over the former briefly, while the latter are dealt with at some length. The same method is favored by Menander, IX. 216 (III. 369), τὰ μὴ ἀναγκαῖα λυσιτελεῖ παρατρέχειν.

disastrous to the British cause and so glorious a triumph for his hero.[1]

The Speeches. — I turn to a consideration of the speeches. It is well known that these form a conspicuous and unique feature of classical historiography from Thucydides down to Ammianus Marcellinus, the last of the great historians of antiquity, addresses to soldiers on the eve of a battle being by far the most numerous. These speeches, moreover, are, without exception, either wholly or largely fictitious, for in the majority of instances circumstances naturally prevented actual speeches of any length from being delivered at all, or, if they were, the historian could have had no accurate knowledge of their contents. The author, therefore, simply put into the mouth of the speaker the sentiments which he deemed fitting to the occasion, his imagination being occasionally aided by reports of what was actually said.[2] But whether fictitious or only partly so, the ancient historian invariably cast the speech into his own stylistic mould, as we may still demonstrate by a comparison of the speech of Claudius in Tacitus and the actual address of the emperor, which happens to be preserved.[3] But while the fiction of actual delivery is maintained throughout, no deception was intended or involved, for even though historians do not, like Thucydides, take the reader into their confidence, the speeches are always intro-

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[1] The objection urged against this view by Andresen, that in reality a year had elapsed between ch. 28 and ch. 29, does not of course affect the reader. Besides, it involves the unreasonable demand of a strict observance of the unity of time, which is not insisted upon even by Aristotle.

[2] See the famous passage in Thucyd. I. 22.

[3] *Ann.* XI. 24, with Furneaux's notes, and cp. especially *Ann.* XV. 63, *pleraque tradidit quae in vulgus edita eius verbis invertere supersedeo*, in reference to Seneca's address before committing suicide.

duced by some stereotyped phrase which precludes an exact and genuine reproduction.[1]

The ancients resorted to this rhetorical expedient in the conviction that by so doing they could more vividly and objectively portray the feelings and the motives by which the principal characters were actuated, and thus at the same time define the issues and reflect the spirit of the contending parties.[2]

Now, inasmuch as Tacitus was writing the life, not of a poet or scientist or philosopher, but of a general who was himself helping to make history, it was inevitable that he should deal with πράξεις, which were the special province of the historian, and thus the rhetorical exigencies of historical prose of which speeches constituted an integral part, would be sufficient to justify their insertion in this strictly historical portion of his biography. If the speeches of Calgacus and Agricola are to be condemned as irrelevant in a genuine biography, the description of the battle, constituting as it did an equally integral feature of historical narrative,[3] should have met with the same condemnation, and yet no one has ever made the least objection to it in spite of its rhetorical and all but imaginative character.[4]

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[1] See note, ch. 29, 10.

[2] The stereotyped rhetorical character of these military harangues is perhaps best shown by the numerous parallelisms in sentiment, often expressed in similar phraseology, found in the speeches of Thucydides, Livy, Curtius, and Sallust, although in the case of the last mentioned direct indebtedness of Tacitus is reasonably certain. See below.

[3] Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 20, 66, *in qua* (sc. *historia*) *et narratur ornate et regio saepe aut pugna describitur, interponuntur etiam contiones et hortationes.*

[4] See notes to ch. 35 ff. and Woelfflin, *Rhein. Mus.* XXIX. p. 285. In general, H. Peter, *Die geschichtliche Literat. in der röm. Kaiserzeit*, I. pp. 307–313. Livy and Tacitus are notoriously careless and unreliable in battle descriptions, but even Thucydides and Polybius, who

The Historical Retrospect. — 5. Σύγκρισις. Immediately upon the account of the ethnology and geography of Britain there follows in our treatise a fairly detailed retrospect concerning the predecessors of Agricola (ch. 13–18), and it, too, has been pronounced out of place in a biography. But this objection is also unwarranted, for here again Tacitus strictly conforms to the rules for the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*, the historical survey being clearly in the nature of a *σύγκρισις* or comparison, which is invariably given as an integral part of the biographical encomium.[1] And that Tacitus himself regarded these and the preceding chapters as legitimate and essential is indicated by ch. 18, 17, *hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices Agricola . . . invenit*, with which words he introduces the *πράξεις ἐν πολέμῳ* of his hero.

The *σύγκρισις* is preferably made to follow the *πράξεις* and is placed immediately before the *ἐπίλογος*,[2] but its position was not definitely fixed[3] and Tacitus was therefore perfectly at liberty to insert it where he chose, without violating any rhetorical standards. With that keen eye for effective dramatic grouping which distinguishes him above all

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among ancient historians took the greatest pains in regard to the topography and strategic movements of a battle, do not wholly satisfy modern standards of accuracy and clearness, for they, too, occasionally succumbed to the temptation of rhetorical embellishment.

[1] E.g. Hermogenes, *Rhet. Graec.* I. 42 ff. (II. 14 ff.); Anonymus I. 133, *μάλιστα δὲ ὁ μικρὰ παραβάλλων τοῖς μείζοσι*; Theon, I. 231 ff. (II. 112 ff.); Menander, IX. 229 (III. 376), *ἀντεξετάζων τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν πρὸς τὰς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλείας*.

[2] E.g. Menander, *Rhet. Graec.* IX. 229 (III. 376), *ἥξεις δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τελειοτάτην σύγκρισιν . . . μετὰ τὴν σύγκρισιν οἱ ἐπίλογοι*.

[3] Doxopater, *Rhet. Graec.* IX. 446 f., *ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἕνα τόπον τῆς συγκρίσεως ἀποδίδομεν, ἐν παντὶ γὰρ λόγου μέρει χώραν ἔχει . . . αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ κατεσπαρμέναι συγκρίσεις εἰκότως εἰσάγονται πρὸς ἕν τι τῶν πραγμάτων γινομέναι*; Priscian, *Rhet. Lat. Min.* II. 556, 23 K., *maximam vero occasionem . . suppeditant comparationes quas pones in quo loco tempus admoneat.*

other historians of antiquity, he accordingly gave this retrospect before relating Agricola's own achievements. It thus enabled the readers to appreciate these at their proper value by having it shown at the very outset how all his predecessors, though a Cerialis and Frontinus were among them, lamentably failed, whereas Agricola, by his tact, his energy, his administrative and military genius, won signal triumphs in the face of tremendous obstacles.

6. Ἐπιλογος. As in the case of the prooemium, the contents of the epilogue were largely left to the discretion of the author, but among the very numerous suggestions given by way of illustration in our rhetorical treatises, from Aristotle down, the element of the pathetic[1] is thought peculiarly appropriate at the close. Tacitus, therefore, availing himself of this latitude, looked about for a model in which the pathetic was a constituent feature. This he found in the so-called παραμυθητικὸς λόγος,[2] or *consolatio*, a form of literary composition highly popular among the ancients.

The most famous of these was a work of the Academic *Crantor* (about 300 B.C.), entitled Περὶ πένθους. It was a veritable storehouse of consolatory sentiments and reflections, and was accordingly put under heavy contributions by later writers of 'consolations.'[3] The epilogue to the *Agricola* partakes precisely of this character; but if we wish to do justice to it, we must always remember that the ancient

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[1] Arist. *Rhet.* III. 19, ὁ δ' ἐπίλογος συγκεῖται ἐκ τεττάρων . . . ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὰ πάθη τὸν ἀκροατὴν καταστῆσαι.

[2] On its history and development, see Buresch, *Leipz. Stud.* IX. (1886), pp. 1–170, and, for the rules governing its composition, Menander (περὶ παραμυθητικοῦ) *Rhet. Graec.* IX. 281–287 (III. 413–418) and ibid. IX. 288–295 (III. 418–422) dealing περὶ ἐπιταφίου, which has many points in common with the *consolatio* as shown in his discussion.

[3] E.g. Cicero's *Consolatio*, *Tusc. Disput.*, Seneca and Plutarch. See Buresch, l.c.

writer, however fresh his sorrow or pungent his grief, never forgot that he was primarily an artist and hence, while collecting such consolatory commonplaces as seemed called for, he, at the same time, spared no effort in presenting them in stylistically elaborated form. Now the marvelous achievement of Tacitus consists in this. Although many of the pathetic sentiments in the closing paragraph are mere rhetorical *τόποι*,[1] he has, nevertheless, succeeded in creating an indelible impression of genuine sorrow, affection, and deep sincerity.

We, therefore, conclude that the *Agricola* of Tacitus is exactly what its author says it was — a *eulogistic* biography, constructed, as we have seen, on fairly orthodox rhetorical lines, more particularly in accord with the detailed rules governing the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*, preserved in Menander's *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*, which, though of a late date, merely reflects orthodox, scholastic traditions. But these, in their substance, far antedate the time of Tacitus himself.

III.

THE PURPOSE OF THE AGRICOLA.

Wholly distinct from the discussion of the structural character of the *Agricola*, though habitually confounded with it, is the controversy which has been raised regarding its real purpose. Tacitus, it is true, has here also expressly

[1] See the examples given in the notes ad loc., and Menander, IX. 283 (III. 414), *βελτίων ἐστὶ τάχα ἡ μετάστασις τοῦ τῇδε βίου* (= ch. 41, 45, 26), *ἀπαλλάττουσα πραγμάτων ἀδίκων . . . ἐρεῖς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι εἰ μὲν κέρδος τὸ βιοῦν, ἱκανῶς ἀπολέλαυκε καὶ λέξεις ἃ σύνοιδας περὶ αὐτοῦ* (= ch. 44, 26 ff.) . . . *ἐξέφυγε τὰ μιαρὰ τοῦ βιοῦ* (= ch. 44, 4 ff.). — IX. 294 (III. 421), *προσθήσεις τινὰ τῷ παραμυθητικῷ συμβουλὴν καὶ ὑποθήκην πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα . . . τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ζηλοῦν τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετάς* (= ch. 46).

told us that it was a biography of his father-in-law, written as a warm tribute of affection, and inspired by the sincere conviction that his achievements well merited the plaudits of posterity.[1] But modern scholars will not have it so.[2]

Some have maintained that it was a political pamphlet in the guise of an historical monograph, embodying the political platform of a moderate party as opposed to the imperialists on the one hand and the radical republicans on the other. Unfortunately for this hypothesis, we happen to know that no such party organizations ever existed in Rome either in the days of Agricola or during any other period of the empire.

Still another theory,[3] advocated with singular ingenuity and dialectical skill, saw in the *Agricola* only a colorless abstraction, a frantic effort to exculpate a partisan of Domitian, in its hero a political time-server, a *medium ingenium magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus*. Tacitus's work is pronounced to be at the same time a cringing *apologia pro vita sua*, primarily addressed to Trajan, with a view to ingratiating himself with the new régime by brazenly vilifying the old. But this *captatio benevolentiae*, we are told, failed of its purpose. The *Agricola* met with a chilling reception at the hands of the public, as may be inferred from the absolute silence of ancient authors regarding it, and their all but absolute silence concerning its hero; and thus, snubbed and disappointed at not receiving a *proconsular* office, Tacitus disappeared from the political arena. In order to justify this scathing impeachment, Hoffmann does not shrink from manufacturing damaging evidence against Tacitus out of the most innocent utterances, accusing him of intentional suppression of the truth where he is

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1 Ch. 3, 31 f. and 46, 26–31.

2 See *Proceed. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, l. c.

3 E. Hoffmann, *Zeitschr. f. oestr. Gymn.* XXI. (1870), pp. 249–275.

brief; of exaggeration where he goes into detail. These inferences have long since been recognized as unwarranted, but it is only recently that Tacitus has been fully vindicated. The unexpected avenger appeared in the shape of the following, apparently insignificant inscription, discovered in 1890, in a remote corner of Asia Minor[1]: Ἴωνες Ἀσιανοὶ ἀνθυπάτῳ Κορνηλίῳ Τακίτῳ, to Cornelius Tacitus the *proconsul*. Thus Hoffmann's indictment only remains as a warning illustration of the aberrations to which an over-subtle ingenuity may lead.

That the *Agricola* does contain a political creed or confession of faith is clear from many passages; indeed, the very preface vibrates with indignation at the memory of the reign of terror. No doubt an unmeasured denunciation of Domitian's rule would have been received with favor. Instead, Tacitus determined to write the life of a man who had lived through this hated régime without either becoming an abettor of Domitian's crimes or his obedient tool, but, on the contrary, showed, in Tacitus's fine phrase, *posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse*, provided they practiced moderation and did not call down upon themselves by futile opposition the wrath of the emperor.[2] That Agricola's temporizing policy of opportunism and silent acquiescence in the existing order of things was made to subserve the hidden purpose of exonerating him (and by implication his biographer) in the eyes of those who were now raging against all who had belonged to Domitian's official family and associates, is clearly a gratuitous assumption. On the contrary, the political atmosphere, so to speak, which pervades the *Agricola* is the same which every reader of the *Histories* and *Annals* breathes, and to remark upon its presence in

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[1] At Mylasa in Caria. See now E. Hula and E. Szanto (*Sitzungsber. der Wiener Acad.* 1894, p. 18).

[2] Ch. 42, 23 ff.

the earlier work is, therefore, merely tantamount to saying that Tacitus was its author. There is, consequently, no valid reason for not accepting Tacitus's own unequivocal statement regarding the purpose of this biography.

IV.

TACITUS'S SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

That the son-in-law of Agricola was in possession of a very considerable amount of first-hand authentic information concerning Agricola's family, training, and early official career goes without saying. And for the events and data subsequent to Agricola's departure for Britain, Tacitus doubtless also learned innumerable details from the living lips of Agricola himself, although he is cited directly as a source but three times (chs. 4, 15. 24, 13, and 44, 7). Again, many items of information would naturally come to his knowledge as being a contemporary; still others were probably transmitted to him by some who were with Agricola in Britain. For the narrative of the years 89–93, during which the author was absent from Rome, he could also rely upon trustworthy oral testimony furnished to him on his return.

In fact, the only items of information which involve the assumption of a distinctly *literary* source are contained in the survey of the earlier predecessors of Agricola and their military campaigns. What this was cannot be determined. Perhaps *Fabius Rusticus* was one of them, but that detailed narratives were at his disposal is shown by the full account given of some of these events, such as the uprising under Boudicca (ch. 15 f.), in his *Annals*.

The description of the battle at Mt. Graupius, barring a certain historical background, and particularly the speeches

were, as we have seen, largely, if not wholly, works of the creative imagination.

To what extent, finally, books, if any, were consulted for the account of the *ethnology* and *geography*[1] of Britain, it is impossible to determine. Tacitus himself was certainly acquainted with the most important works dealing with these topics, for he singles out *Livy* and *Fabius Rusticus* as the most famous out of many accessible to him,[2] assuring us that their information was scanty and unreliable, he being in possession of more authentic details. Caesar, whom Tacitus styles *summus auctorum* in the *Germania* (ch. 28, 5), seems not to have been consulted, or rather he was intentionally ignored, for he cannot be included among those who *nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere* (ch. 10, 4), a statement in no sense applicable to the short paragraphs which Caesar has devoted to the subject.[3]

That he made direct use of any Greek sources, such as Pytheas of Massilia, Strabo, Diodorus, or even Posidonius, whose works on physical geography and ethnology marked the highest point which scientific research into these subjects reached in antiquity, is extremely doubtful, for Tacitus's explanations of the long days and the tides are unscientific; and in holding to the disk-shaped form of the earth, he is deplorably behind the knowledge even of his own time.

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[1] See the exhaustive treatment of this subject in Furneaux's Introd. to the *Agricola*, pp. 22–34.

[2] Cp. ch. 10, 1 ff.

[3] *B. G.* IV. 33; V. 12–14. Caesar seems to imply that the Britons had cavalry as well as chariot fighters, whereas Tacitus mentions only the latter, whom he calls *covinnarii*, for which Caesar says *essedarii*. But the contradiction is, perhaps, only apparent, for Tacitus is speaking of the Caledonians, Caesar of the Britons in Kent, and what was true of the latter was not necessarily applicable to the former.

V.

STYLE AND RHETORIC.

Tacitus is not only the greatest historian whom Rome produced, but he is also one of the greatest stylistic artists in the world's literature.

Equipped with the most thorough rhetorical training which his time afforded (and without such, it must be remembered, no ancient author, least of all in the post-Augustan age, could hope for recognition or an abiding renown), Tacitus began his career as a writer with the brilliant *Dialogus de oratoribus*. This exhibits the youthful author still completely under the spell of the exuberant diction of Cicero, a return to whose style Quintilian, Tacitus's great teacher, advocated with lifelong enthusiasm, to offset the corrupting influence of Seneca. Nearly twenty years were to elapse before Tacitus broke the silence imposed by the despotism of Domitian with the publication of the *Agricola*. The great difference which confronts us in the style of the two treatises is easily accounted for, but only one of the causes[1] calls for special mention here. The exigencies of artistic prose imperatively demanded a distinctly different treatment for each species of literary composition, a history, an encomium, a speech, or a letter exhibiting a stylistic type peculiarly distinct. Now, when Tacitus designed the *Agricola*, he conformed to existing rhetorical canons for the *βασιλικὸς λόγος*, or biographical eulogy, as we have seen, but for its stylistic framework he selected as his model the historian *Sallust*.[2] And certainly Sallust's 'immortal swiftness,' his epigrammatic directness and general sty-

[1] On the others, see Introd. to *Dialogus*, pp. xi.–xvii.

[2] *Ann.* III. 30, he is called *rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor*, with which estimate Martial, Tacitus's contemporary, fully agrees. Cp. Bk. XIV. 191, *Primus Romana Crispus in historia.*

listic originality, may well have exerted a powerful attraction upon a mind such as Tacitus's. But, at the same time, he seems to have been captivated by the nobility of *Vergilian* diction. In the *Histories* and *Annals* he to some extent emancipated himself from the style of Sallust, but the influence of the great poet never waned, remaining conspicuously in evidence in all his works.

In the *Agricola* these two streams still blend in happy harmony, producing a style as far removed from the 'milky richness' of the *Dialogus* as it is from the succinctness of expression in the *Histories*, or the still greater conciseness of the *Annals*. But a man of such literary gifts as Tacitus is never a mere imitator, and hence we find that certain features characteristic of his mature and developed style already appear in the *Agricola*, his earliest treatise of an historical character. The most noteworthy of these are a straining for the utmost brevity, which occasionally resulted in obscurity, and a deliberate avoidance of the commonplace, the trite, or formulaic, which led him to coin new expressions, or to give a novel turn to old ones.

The following survey aims to give in a conveniently tabulated form a collection of the most interesting stylistic and rhetorical features met with in this treatise.[1]

I. COLLOCATIO VERBORUM.

1. *Transposition of cognomen:*

2, 17, Aruleno Rustico, Paetus Thrasea ; 45, 15 f., Carus Mettius, Massa Baebius.

2. *Predicate in attributive position:*

10, 22, rariores ; 18, 9, nota, proprius ; 21, 1, frequens ; 22, 14, intrepida ; 25, 30, aperto ; 32, 20, aegra ; 39, 15, imperatoriam ; 43, 17, caeca et conrupta ; 44, 3 f., incolumi, florente, salvis.

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[1] Further comment, whenever called for, as well as a discussion of the syntactical peculiarities, will be found in the commentary.

3. *Predicate precedes* by way of emphasis, thus often obviating an asseverative particle like *profecto, vero, quidem*, etc.:

4, 10, arcebat; 6, 15, vixeruntque; 6, 22, auctus; 8, 22, praeerat; 8, 23, temperavit; 8, 27, habuerunt; 9, 6, credunt plerique; 12, 8, gignit; 16, 20, missus; 16, 25, didicere; 22, 9, adnotabant periti; 33, 25, excepere; 38, 21, satisque constabat. So always except ch. 13, 24 and *Hist.* III. 29; 38, 29, datae; 39, 6, inerat; 40, 2, tradiderat; 40, 26, credidere plerique; 41, 18, insecuta; 41, 25, poscebatur; 42, 4, aderat; 42, 6, accessere; 43, 4, augebat; 44, 20, natus; 45, 12, non vidit; 45, 2, excepissemus. In *asyndetic* collocations: 5, 3 f.; 15, 26 f.; 18, 25 f.; 31, 23 f.; 32, 15 ff.; 34, 5; 44, 3 f.; with *chiasmus* in the last member, 5, 29 ff.; 32, 10 ff.; 38, 17. *Exception:* 2, 5, dedimus profecto. *Generally in ablative absolute constructions*, e.g. 9, 24, comitante; 11, 17, amissa; 18, 2, caesaque; 18, 8, depositis; 18, 13, petita; 28, 6, occiso; 29, 25, praemissa; 35, 9, adloquente; 37, 28, oblatis; 38, 28, acceptis. *Exceptions:* 14, 9; 26, 20; 38, 2; 39, 10; 43, 11; 44, 2.

4. *A word belonging to two other words is generally placed between them:*

1, 4, aliqua; 8, 24, suam; 43, 8, illud; 7, 12, Domitiano; 22, 15, hostibus; 32, 1, res; 32, 13, fulgor; 32, 20, municipia; 33, 8, Britannia; 28, 10, duobus; 3, 32, erit; 43, 3, est; 11, 11, deprehendas; 13, 23, vocabat; 17, 11, amplexus; 20, 21, circumdatae; 42, 6, deerat; 44, 25, crederes; 6, 23; 7, 20; 24, 1; 35, 21; 42, 11, simul; 11, 17, pariter; 15, 26, plerumque; 7, 21, bonos; 13, 20, posteris.

5. *The adjective follows its noun:*

2, 2; 3, 18, humani (ae); 7, 17 f., consularibus, praetorius; but 10, 16; 15, 4; 24, 16; 35, 15, Romanus precedes. This *proper* adjective is very rarely *postpositive* in Tacitus, except with *res*, which habitually precedes its attributive. In 19, 27, *publicae rei* was necessary, because *res publica* has a specific meaning; 33, 1, *secundae res*, because of *adversae* following. See above (4). In 3, 16, *Securitas Publica* is a fixed phrase, like *res publica*. The few other exceptions are due to stylistic reasons; 7, 5, classis Othoniana; 19, 28, studiis privatis (very unusual); 27, 1, loca tuta; 29, 2, pugnae prioris; 32, 3, dominationi alienae; 36, 30, tres, duas; 44, 28, opibus nimiis. The *adjec-*

tival pronouns, on the other hand, are usually *postpositive*, and *primus*, as in 24, 32, nave prima, frequently so.

6. *Ablative absolutes* are very frequently in this work found at the *end* of the sentence:

2, 3. 8; 7, 12; 9, 30; 14, 4. 13; 15, 28; 22, 6; 23, 31; 30, 16; 44, 2.

7. *Anastrophe* is still very rare in the minor writings, the *Agricola* having only one instance:

26, 18, ultro quin etiam. So always in Tacitus, except *Dial.* 29, 16 and *Ann.* XII. 61. — 4, 15, prima in iuventa is not a case in point.

8. *Repetition of preposition*, though not uncommon in Tacitus, is almost wholly confined to *adversative* clauses:

5, 4, de; 5, 10, ex; 8, 1; 32, 29, in; 8, 2, extra.

9. *Anaphora:*

15, 24, nihil; 32, 7 f., nullae . . . nulli; 30, 1, non; 15, 4; 18, 11, qui; 18, 17, hunc . . . has; 25, 27, hinc; 32, 20, hic; 20, 16, ipse; 25, 25, sua . . . suos; 45, 3, noster . . . nostram . . . nobis; 45, 18, nos; 32, 2; 45, 13, tot; 33, 16, quando; 46, 10, si; 46, 26, quidquid; 46, 17, id . . . sic; 19, 30, omnia; 9, 20, procul; 25, 23; 36, 26; 41, 2, simul; 41, 14, absens; 31, 14, cotidie; 40, 5, noctu; 15, 21, aeque; 15, 23, alterius; 45, 22, cum.

10. *Polysyndeton:*

This stylistic device, much more rarely employed than the asyndeton, draws attention to *each single element* in the enumeration; the *asyndeton*, on the other hand, gives a *cumulative effect*, and is especially used in vivid narrative or description: 5, 7 f.; 9, 14; 18, 10; 21, 2; 30, 15; 31, 18. 25; 32, 21; 37, 31; 40, 21; 45, 12. 15; 46, 15.

11. *Asyndeton:*

a. Enumerative: 3, 23 ff.; 5, 3 ff.; 12, 28 ff.; 15, 27. 30. 2; 16, 2; 18, 26; 21, 27; 30, 4; 31, 10 (in symmetrical groups); 32, 15 ff. 18; 34, 5 ff.; 36, 16; 37, 27; 38, 17 ff. 23 f.; 40, 10; 43, 29; 44, 3 f.; 45, 1. With *chiasmus* in the last member to round off the period: 5, 28 ff.; 28, 10; 32, 11; 33, 14 (double chiasmus); 36, 6 ff.

b. Adversative, usually composed of two members, and often symmetrically balanced: 3, 19. 27; 10, 10; 12, 21. 26. 4; 13, 23 (chiastic); 15, 21. 30; 16, 31; 19, 31; 20, 15; 21, 27; 22, 13; 25, 1 (chiastic); 27, 29; 30, 18; 33, 6. 16; 39, 7; 41, 30.

c. In Tacitus an *asyndetic* group is often followed by an *et* clause (more rarely *ac* or *atque*), contrary to classic usage. In all the instances in the *Agricola*, the *last* member thus added is *amplified*, and either adds a *new idea* or *sums up*: 9, 13; 11, 5; 13, 29; 17, 6; 20, 17; 31, 23 (ac); 36, 6 (chiastic); 37, 28 (atque); 41, 27.

12. *Chiasmus:*

2, 3; 5, 1. 6 f. 28; 8, 23 f.; 10, 7; 12, 12; 13, 23; 17, 15; 19, 6; 20, 15; 24, 14; 25, 1; 28, 10; 32, 11; 33, 14; 36, 6. 27; 39, 12; 41, 2; 42, 12 f.; 43, 1 f. 8; 44, 6; 45, 25 f.; 46, 12.

13. *Alliteration:*

This device is conspicuous in all archaic poetry, for the Greek constitutes only an apparent exception, inasmuch as the Homeric and Hesiodic epics, though they represent for us the beginning of Greek literature, are themselves the flower of a long development. In Latin, Lucretius is the last great poet to employ alliteration to any noticeable extent, even Vergil using it but sparingly. In *prose*, excepting a number of formulaic or proverbial expressions, it seems to have been intentionally avoided, except in Tacitus, who throughout all his writings from the *Dialogus* down, evinces a peculiar fondness for such collocations, often using them with special effect to emphasize an *antithesis*:

33, 10, flumina fatigarent, fortissimi; 42, 22, famam fatumque; 46, 20, formamque ac figuram; 36, 1, mucrones ac manus; 6, 23, subsidium simul et solacium; 16, 31, seditio sine sanguine stetit; 39, 17, secreto suo satiatus; 34, 29, silvas saltusque; 1, 4, virtus vicit; 18, 18, victoriam vocabat victos; 33, 12, vota virtusque; 27, 2, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspiratione civitatum sancirent (double); and especially noteworthy: 46, 29, veterum velut — inglorios . . . ignobiles — oblivio obruit. *In antithesis:* 5, 10, ex magna fama quam ex mala; 8, 1, virtute . . . verecundia; 11, 12, in deposcendis . . . in detrectandis; 19, 32, poena . . . paenitentia; 22, 23, offendere . . . odisse; 33, 12, victoribus . . . victis; 41, 14, accusatus . . . absolutus; 41, 2, virtutibus . . . vitiis; 43, 18, patre . . . principem.

14. *Libration:*

A symmetrical collocation of words and clauses was one of the three prerequisites of an artistic style.[1] It accordingly constitutes one of the conspicuous features, particularly of the smaller works of Tacitus, in which he had not yet emancipated himself from earlier models. The later writings (excepting the speeches), owing to their studied conciseness, did not admit of so careful an equilibrium of clauses. While the numerous instances in the *Agricola* are, to some extent, directly due to the *antithetical* form in which the author is fond of casting his thoughts, his design to *librate* them stylistically is made manifest by the frequent accumulation of *synonyms* and a certain *fullness* of expression which subserve the purpose referred to. In the later writings, with the comparatively rarer occurrence of libration, these features are also no longer so prominent. The most noteworthy instances in this treatise are found in: 2, 19. 3. 6; 3, 16. 19; 5, 30; 8, 1; 9, 20; 10, 25 f.; 11, 12; 12, 26. 5. 12; 13, 15; 15, 19 f. 21 f.; 19, 30 f.; 21, 26 f.; 25, 26 ff.; 26, 20; 27, 29 f.; 30, 17 f. 23 f. 1; 31, 10 f. 15 f.; 32, 1. 15 f.; 33, 6 f. 13; 34, 25 f.; 38, 16 ff. 23; 40, 5; 41, 29; 43, 29; 44, 24 f. 28. 3 f.; 45, 15. 18. 25; 46, 15 f. 22. 26 f. 27 f. 29.

15. *Synonyms:*

The accumulation of virtually synonymous expressions is characteristic of Latin writers generally. It was primarily due to rhetorical and not rarely to rhythmical reasons. In T. examples are particularly abundant in the minor writings, the *Dialogus* and the *Agricola* containing about the same number of instances, while the *Germania*, owing doubtless to its scientific character, has only about one-half as many: 1, 3. 4. 7. 16; 2, 3 f.; 3, 17. 29; 4, 11. 14. 17 f. 18. 19; 6, 26; 8, 28; 9, 12; 10, 9. 28; 12, 22 f.; 14, 6; 15, 26; 16, 30. 4; 18, 14; 19, 1; 20, 21 f.; 21, 26; 29, 23 f. 7; 30, 17. 24. 28; 31, 9 f. 12. 25; 32, 5. 30 f. 20; 33, 7. 8. 15. 18 f. 23; 34, 4; 36, 1. 4. 18; 40, 2. 4. 9; 41, 25. 30 f.; 42, 25; 43, 30 f.; 44, 9; 45, 14; 46, 14. 20. 29. 30.

16. *Pleonastic phrases:*

1, 2 f. temporibus . . . actas; 3, 12, primo statim . . . ortu; 3, 27, exactae aetatis terminos; 5, 23, prima . . . rudimenta; 7, 6, hostiliter populatur; 8, 26, brevi deinde; 16, 3, innocens . . . nullis delictis;

[1] The other two are *euphony* and *rhythm*. See especially the famous chapters in Cic. *Orat.* XLI. 140 ff.

22, 6, formidine territi; 22, 16, soliti plerumque; 37, 23, pulsos in fugam; and perhaps 28, 8, adactis per vim.

17. It is a peculiarity of Tacitus to combine *two* nouns of *similar* meaning, so that the *second*, very rarely the first, is a *specific* term more closely defining or merely emphasizing the *other*:

2, 21, comitio ac foro (but see note); 8, 28, labores et discrimina; 9, 12, conventus ac iudicia; 12, 2, caelum et sidera; 13, 20, bella . . . arma; 21, 1, habitus nostri . . . toga; 33, 7, fama et rumore; 25, 32; 33, 18, manus et arma; 30, 17, proelium atque arma; 31, 12, verbera ac contumelias; 32, 13, adspectus et . . . fulgor; 39, 8, habitus et crines; 40, 12, viso adspectoque; 41, 22, limite imperii et ripa; 45, 14, exilia et fugas.

18. Akin to this usage is the *collocation* of *two* substantives by an epexegetic *et*, rarely *ac* or *atque*:

1, 5, ignorantiam recti et invidiam; 4, 21, ratio et aetas; 5, 27, voluptates et conmeatus; 5, 6, summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria; 6, 28, et silentium; 16, 13, ira et victoria; 26, 11, inter somnum ac trepidationem; 29, 4, legationibus et foederibus; 30, 24, recessus ipse ac sinus famae; 43, 30, vulgus . . . et hic populus; 45, 23, vultus et rubor.

19. *Hypallage*:

4, 9, omnem honestarum artium cultum, used to avoid a double attributive.

20. *Prolepsis*:

12, 22, nunc per principes (= nunc principibus per quos); 15, 20, e quibus legatus . . . procurator (= legatum . . . procuratorem, e quibus ille . . . hic); 39, 5, ut Domitiano moris erat . . . excepit (= Domitianus ut ei moris erat . . . excepit).

21. *Climax*:

18, 11; 30, 15. 26 ff. 3 ff.

II. BRACHYLOGY.

1. *Comparatio compendiaria:*

12, 29; 21, 30; 24, 9.

2. *Ellipsis of substantives:*

4, 4, senatorii ordinis (sc. vir); 4, 8, rarae castitatis (sc. mulier); 16, 23, nullis . . . experimentis (vir). So regularly in genitive and ablatives of quality; 8, 26; 14, 1; 40, 25, consularem (sc. legatum); 8, 29, communicabat (sc. cum Agricola); 10, 20, perinde (sc. atque cetera maria); 12, 32, exsurgere (sc. solem); 18, 19, laureatis (sc. litteris); 20, 13, priorum (sc. ducum); 25, 19, amplexus (sc. bello); 25, 5, cognoscit (sc. Agricola); 27, 24, cuius (sc. victoriae); 28, 8, liburnicas (sc. naves); 35, 16, pellerentur (sc. auxilia); 41, 23, possessione (sc. provinciarum); 42, 12, compositus (sc. vultum); 43, 2, locuti sunt (sc. de morte Agricolae); 43, 4, oblitus (sc. mortis); 44, 21, excessit (sc. vita), the full form in Tacitus, only *Hist.* IV. 75; 44, 22, decimo.

3. *Ellipsis of adjective:*

6, 29, et [cetera] inania; 13, 14, [cetera] iniuncta; 28, 12, [cetera] utilia; 44, 2, dignitate (sc. senatoria).

4. *Ellipsis of demonstrative pronoun:*

6, 19, dedit (ei); 11, 9, habitum (eum); 44, 8, evasisse (eum); 45, 21, videre (eum) . . . adspici (ab eo).

5. *Ellipsis of particles:*

8, 31; 11, 18; 12, 11. 28; 18, 7; 24, 8; 31, 14; 33, 16; 37, 10; 38, 16; 39, 15; 46, 24. 30 (sed). For other omissions of *sed*, and of *et*, see Asyndeton (I. 11). 13, 15 [nam] has; 25, 32 [igitur] ad arma.

6. *Ellipsis of Verbs:*

a. Of doing, saying, seeing, etc: 11, 1, ut inter barbaros [esse solet]; 18, 7, ut in . . . consiliis [fieri solet]; 10, 21, credo [id fieri]; 19, 27, nihil . . . [agi]; 15, 18, accendere [dicebant enim]; 27, 25, invium [esse putabant]; 10, 8, nullis contra terris [positis]; 30, 15, nullae ultra terrae [positae], cp. 11, 5; 11, 2, ex eo [petuntur]; 10, 12, unde [oriebatur]. So regularly after unde, inde, hinc; 18, 1, ipse . . . [incedens]; 13, 21, oblivio [sequebatur]; 2, 7, nos [vidimus]; 21, 1, toga [adspiciebatur]; 33, 27, fulgores [adspiciebantur];

37, 27, spectaculum [adspiciebatur]; 37, 32, ira . . . [redit]; 17, 6, duces [exstiterunt]; 20, 14, multus [adfuit]; 4, 17, hausisse [et hausturum fuisse]; 13, 23, agitasse . . . [et agitaturum fuisse]; 37, 20, circumire . . . [et circumissent]; 10, 19, hactenus [progredi]; 39, 8, triumphum [reportatum].

b. The omission of the copula. Tacitus omits the *infinitive* and *indicative* forms whenever possible, the minor writings furnishing, however, only about one-half as many instances of this ellipsis as the *Histories* and *Annals.* The *subjunctive* of *esse*, on the other hand, is in comparison rarely suppressed, and if it is, some *other subjunctive* is generally found in the same sentence, thus avoiding any possible ambiguity: 13, 24, ni velox ingenio [fuisset] . . . fuissent; 23, 27, si . . . pateretur, inventus [esset]; 24, 16, ubique arma [essent] et . . . tolleretur; 35, 14, ingens victoriae [= si vincerent] decus . . . auxilium, si pellerentur (sc. auxilia); 6, 20, parata [esset] . . . et proconsul . . . redempturus esset; 9, 12, ubi conventus . . . poscerent . . . misericors [erat]: ubi officio satis factum [esset], nulla . . . persona [erat]; 4, 16, concessum [esset]; 18, 25, quamquam . . . [esset]; 26, 20, donec pulsi [essent]. In 6, 30, propior (ὤν); 7, 19, incertum (ὄν), the ellipsis is due to a lack of a participle of *esse*.

7. *Zeugma:*

This is the use of a verb with two substantives, or groups of substantives, though in meaning applicable to but one. In such constructions another verb of *kindred* signification must be supplied from the verb expressed. Tacitus furnishes some very bold examples of this brachylogy, but they are mainly confined to the later works. Those in the *Agricola* offer no difficulty: 3, 16, spem ac votum (sc. conceperit) . . . robur adsumpserit; 12, 11, arbitrantur nam . . . conlegi (sc. constat); 12, 12, naturam . . . deesse . . . avaritiam (sc. abesse); 13, 14 f., dilectum (sc. ferunt) . . . tributa (sc. faciunt) . . . munera . . . obeunt; 25, 23, terra (sc. gereretur) . . . mari bellum impelleretur; 39, 11, inerat conscientia . . . fuisse . . . id sibi maxime formidolosum [esse videbatur]; 41, 30, amore et fide [adhortabantur] . . . malignitate et livore . . . exstimulabant; 45, 18, nos . . . visus [foedavit], nos . . . sanguine Senecio perfudit (where see note).

8. Ἀπὸ κοινοῦ:

This is a kind of brachylogy, in which *one* term is employed in *different* meanings. It is a figure akin to *zeugma*, but is generally of

much rarer occurrence. Cp. 18, 16, nec; 20, 21, circumdatae; 25, 6; circumiretur; 31, 12, conteruntur; 32, 24, extremos; 38, 1, secunda, with notes ad loc.

9. *Constructio praegnans:*

See notes. ch. 44, 30, impleverat, and 44, 7, ominabatur.

10. *Noteworthy instances of conciseness:*

1, 6, ut agere digna . . . in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus (= ut agere, ita scribere digna . . . in aperto erat, nam celeberrimus); 1, 10, plerique . . . narrare, arbitrati sunt (= plerique . . . narraverunt idque . . . a. s.); 3, 18, ut corpora . . . sic . . . revocaveris (= ut c. . . . sic ingenia . . . lente . . . exstinguuntur quae . . . revocaveris); 4, 13, locum . . . compositum, where see note; 5, 23 ff., rudimenta adprobavit (= r. ita posuit ut . . . adprobaret); 9, 21, vincere et adteri (= v. . . . et vinci eoque adteri); 10, 14, spatium . . . tenuatur (= s. est . . . idque . . . tenuatur); 10, 20, mare . . . grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis, etc. (= mare . . . esse perhibent ac ne ventis); 12, 8, gignit et Oceanus; 15, 23, alterius manus; 18, 7, naves deerant; 18, 10, ita repente inmisit; 25, 29, Britannos quoque, etc., with notes ad loc; 31, 15 ff., servorum vilis est, qui etiam conservis ludibrio est sic etiam . . . famulatu (recentissimus quisque vilis est), quare novi nos et viles, etc.; 39, 10, victoriam . . . celebrari (= victoriam reportatam esse quae celebraretur) 44, 6.

III. INCONCINNITY.

This term is applied to a tendency already noticeable in Livy, but especially characteristic of Tacitus, to *avoid*, for the sake of *variety*, *normal collocations* or *stereotyped phrases*. It is extremely rare in the *Dialogus*, written as it was under the complete influence of Cicero. The *Germania*, being a more or less scientific treatise, also exhibits but few instances. In the rhetorically elaborated *Agricola* numerous examples occur, but they are as yet confined within narrow limits. In the *Histories*, and in the *Annals*, *inconcinnity* has become a much more conspicuous feature, and its increasing prominence thus furnishes a good illustration, out

of many, of the *genetic* development of Tacitus's style. As yet diffident and all but capricious in the *minor* writings, it gradually matures into a *systematic* device and is handled with consummate skill to subserve definite rhetorical ends.

1. *Concrete noun added to abstract:*

4, 8, sinu indulgentiaque; 4, 12, sedem ac magistram; 20, 21, praesidiis castellisque . . . ratione curaque; 24, 10, per commercia et negotiatores; 25, 25, copiis et laetitia; 25, 6, numero et peritia; 28, 7, exemplum et rectores; 30, 20, spem ac subsidium; 30, 24, terrarum et libertatis; 33, 7, a fama . . . rumore — castris et armis; 36, 8, aemulatione et impetu; 37, 11, nox et satietas; 38, 15, gaudio praedaque; 46, 25, materiam et artem.

2. *Case and prepositional phrase:*

This is most frequent with *per:* 6, 15, per mutuam caritatem . . se anteponendo; 9, 19, ostentanda virtute aut per artem; 19, 22, animorum . . . prudens . . . doctus per experimenta; 28, 18, per commercia . . . mutatione; 31, 7 ff., per dilectus . . . nomine; 41, 20 f., temeritate aut per ignaviam; 46, 25, per . . . materiam et artem . . . moribus; 44, 9, per intervalla . . . uno ictu; 1, 12, citra fidem . . . obtrectationi; 19, 28, studiis . . . ex commendatione; 22, 21, comis bonis . . . adversus malos iniucundus; 31, 10, in tributum . . . in frumentum . . . silvis; 35, 24, promptior in spem, firmus adversis (where see note); 42, 12, paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam compositus.

3. *Comparative followed by positive:*

4, 20, vehementius quam caute (see note).

4. *Variation of preposition:*

5, 29 f., in iactationem . . . ob formidinem; 24, 3, in spem . . . ob formidinem.

5. *Noun and subordinate clause:*

9, 25, nullis . . . sermonibus, sed quia; 10, 2, non in comparationem, sed quia.

6. *Adjective or participle and case:*

4, 4, senatorii ordinis . . . notus; 16, 23, segnior et nullis . . . experimentis; 37, 9, agminibus . . . respectantes; 38, 16, palantes . . . ploratu.

7. *Avoidance of commonplace expressions:*

6, 28, ludos *duxit* for *fecit* on the analogy of *pompam ducere*; 16, 9, sumpsere *bellum* for *arma*; 37, 30, terga *praestare*, a new coinage for *dare*, *praebere*; 45, 28, pro virili *portione* in place of *parte*.

8. *Reference to part of an antecedent:*

10, 22; 12, 32; 13, 21 (where see notes).

IV. POETICAL AND FIGURATIVE FEATURES.

As already remarked, the two authors who exerted the greatest influence upon the style and vocabulary of Tacitus are *Vergil* and *Sallust*; but, indisputable as this is, we must guard against the temptation of regarding all striking parallelisms as so many direct reminiscences. Many Vergilian phrases, and the same is true of Sallust, had, by the time Tacitus composed the *Agricola*, become common property. In fact, if the prose of the post-Augustan age be distinguished from the Ciceronian period by one feature more than another, it is its profound indebtedness to the language of the poets,[1] Livy, whose phraseology is also under heavy obligations to Vergil, standing at the threshold of this movement. In the following some of the more noteworthy of the stylistic parallelisms between Tacitus and earlier writers, pointed out in the Notes, are briefly summarized:

a. Vergil: 3, 20, subit; 5, 2, non alias; 5, 23, castrorum rudimenta; 6, 29; 12, 4; 43, 12, medius, patiens, securus, with genitive; 8, 25, peritus, with infinitive; 10, 13, use of ingens; 12, 10, saxis avelli; 13, 29, monstratus fatis (Aen. VI. 869); 14, 14, rebellibus;

[1] Cp. *Dial.* 20, 4 f., *Exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor.*

15, 24, exceptum (Aen. IX. 271); 18, 26, praesumere as a passive (Aen. XI. 18); 25, 27, hinc . . . hinc (Aen. I. 500); 29, 6, adfluebat; 29, 7, cruda ac viridis senectus; 37, 32, aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque; 39, 16, curis exercitus (Aen. V. 779); 42, 22, famam fatumque; 45, 5, honori.

b. Horace: 15, 21, aeque . . . aeque; 18, 26, tarda (active); 34, 1, numerus.

c. Ovid: 15, 19, ex facili; 21, 25, in bella faciles; 31, 22, sumite animum.

d. Lucan, for whom Tacitus appears to have had a special fondness, has left his traces, perhaps, in 25, 24 ff. = IV. 196 ff.; 38, 25, incerta fugae vestigia; 38, 27, spargi bellum.

e. Sallust: Cp. ch. 1–3 and Cat. 3 f., Iug. 3 f.; ch. 4 ff. and Cat. 5; Iug. 3 f.; ch. 5 and Iug. 5; ch. 10–17 and Iug. 17–19; the speeches in chs. 31–33 and Cat. 51 f.; Mithridates' letter (fragm. IV. 17). *Phraseological parallelisms* would doubtless have been found in still greater abundance, if Sallust's *Histories* had been preserved entire. Cp. ch. 5, 4; 26, 18 = Iug. 114, 2; ch. 11, 30 = Iug. 17, 7; ch. 12, 4 = Hist. fragm. I. 9 (10); ch. 18, 1 = Cat. 59, 1; ch. 18, 4 = Cat. 53, 1. Iug. 92, 1; ch. 18, 23 = Iug. 84, 3. 100, 4; ch. 20, 17 = Iug. 88, 2; ch. 26, 13 = Cat. 45, 1; ch. 27, 29 = Iug. 53, 8; ch. 30, 12 = Cat. 58, 18; ch. 32, 29 = Hist. fragm. IV. 61 (19), 7; ch. 33, 13 = Cat. 58, 9 f. Iug. 114, 2; ch. 36, 16 = Hist. fragm. I. 104 (96); ch. 37, 26 f. = Iug. 101, 11.

f. Livy: Tacitus does not seem to have been under great or conscious obligations to Livy, for of the parallelisms recorded in the Notes many are probably due to their common indebtedness to Vergil. The speeches of Hannibal and Scipio at Ticinum in particular and the battle descriptions do indeed exhibit numerous structural and stylistic resemblances to passages in the *Agricola;* but here, too, it is doubtful to what extent they merely represent stereotyped commonplaces of the rhetorical vernacular.

g. Curtius: The numerous coincidences between ch. 30–38 and Curtius are, again, mainly confined to his speeches, and are, therefore, with greater likelihood explained on the assumption of similar rhetorical models than by direct indebtedness on the part of Tacitus. Cp. esp. Curt. IV. 3, 9 ff. and ch. 33; III. 8, 10 and ch. 34, 29 f.; VII. 8, 34, 19 and ch. 32, 29.

h. The remarkable parallelisms with Isocrates' *Euagoras* and Xenophon's *Agesilaus* are probably not actual reminiscences, for

these two treatises are frequently cited as stock models for biographical encomia by ancient rhetoricians. Cp. ch. 44, 1, and Isoc. *Euag.* 28; ch. 46, and ibid. 1. 75; ch. 22, 21, and Xen. *Ages.* 11, 10; ch. 45, 25 f. and ibid. 5, 3; ch. 46, 22, and ibid. 11, 14. Cp. Introd., p. x.

i. A number of *figurative* expressions not hitherto mentioned also contribute their share in giving to this treatise its noteworthy poetical and rhetorical coloring, many of the *metaphors* and *personifications* being of a very bold character, generally coined by the author, or at least not found elsewhere, or extremely rare: 1, 4, virtus vicit ac supergressa est; 9, 24, comitante opinione; 10, 29, montibus inseri velut in suo (sc. mari); 11, 16, segnitia cum otio intravit; 14, 15, terga occasioni patefecit; 16, 26, vitiis blandientibus; 18, 25, transvecta aestas; 20, 12, famam paci circumdedit; 22, 14, intrepida hiems; 30, 24, recessus . . . sinus famae . . . defendit; 30, 23, a contactu, etc.; 31, 14, Britannia emit . . . pascit; 31, 27, Caledonia . . . viros seposuerit; 33, 1, virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani; 33, 7, fama . . . rumore . . . tenemus; 33, 12, vota virtusque in aperto; 34, 27, furto noctis; 34, 5, imponite . . . annis magnum diem; 36, 4, gladii . . . tolerabant; 38, 22, dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit; 38, 30, praecesserat terror; 40, 9, otium . . . hausit; 41, 2 f. in gloriam ipsam praeceps agebatur; 44, 9 f. per spiramenta temporum . . . uno ictu rem publicam exhausit; 45, 22, suspiria nostra subscriberentur; 45, 28, innocentia . . . donares.

j. Finally, a list of the few ἅπαξ εἰρημένα in this treatise may be given, i.e. words either first found in Tacitus or used by him in new meanings: 3, 14, dissociabilis in the sense of incompatible; 5, 2, anxius; 10, 4, percoluere = exornavere; 10, 7, obtenditur; 12, 12, natura, good quality; 19, 6, devortia; 19, 31, commodare = adhibere; 20, 23, inlacessita; 35, 13, cornibus adfunderentur; 35, 19, covinnarius; 42, 20, inrevocabilis = implacabilis; 45, 7, comploratus.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Roman Emperors.		Governors of Britain.		Life of Agricola.		Life of Tacitus.	
30 B.C.–14 A.D.	Augustus						
14–37	Tiberius						
37–41	Caligula			40 (June 13).	Birth		
41–54	Claudius						
		44.	Aulus Plautius				
		47.	Ostorius Scapula				
		51.	Didius Gallus			54/55.	Birth
54–68	Nero						
		57.	Q. Veranius				
		58.	Suetonius Paulinus	58.	First military service (in Britain)		
		61.	Petronius Turpilianus	61.	Marriage		
		63.	Trebellius Maximus	63.	Quaestor		
					Birth and death of son		
				64.	Birth of daughter		
				66.	Tribunus plebis		
				67 (68).	Praetor		
68–69	Galba, Otho, Vitellius			69.	Murder of his mother		
69–79	Vespasian	69.	Vettius Bolanus		Legatus praetorius (in Britain)		
		71.	Petilius Cerialis				
				73.	Patrician	73 (?).	Pupil of Quintilian
		74.	Julius Frontinus	74–76.	Propraetor in Aquitania	74/75.	Studied under M. Aper and J. Secundus
		77.	C. Julius Agricola	77.	Consul suffectus	77/78.	Married to Agricola's daughter
				77/8.	Governor of Britain	78/79.	Tribunus militum (?)
79–81	Titus					79–81.	Publication of the *Dialogus*.
81–96	Domitian			83.	Death of son	80 (?).	Quaestor
					Battle at Mt. Graupius		
				84/5.	Recall	88.	Praetor
		85.	Sallustius Lucullus (?)	91.	Compelled to refuse proconsulship	89–93.	Absent from Rome as propraetor of a province (?)
				93.	(Aug. 13). Death.	97.	Consul
96–98	Nerva					98.	Publication of the *Agricola* and *Germania*
98–117	Trajan					100.	Accused Marius Priscus
						105–109.	Publication of *Histories*
						c. 112.	Proconsul of Asia
						c. 116.	Publication of *Annals*
						117 (?).	Death

INTRODUCTION TO THE GERMANIA.

I.

THE PURPOSE OF THE GERMANIA.

When Tacitus published the *Agricola*, in 98 A.D., he had already planned, as we learn from his preface (ch. 3, 29 f.), the composition of a History of his Own Times. It appeared about a decade later, and comprised the narrative from the death of Nero to that of Domitian (68–96 A.D.), the story being subsequently supplemented by the *Annals*, dealing with the preceding period from the death of Augustus (14 A.D.).

Now, among the events which occurred within the first century of the Empire's existence, few can be mentioned that vied in intrinsic importance with the constant struggles of Rome with the barbarian tribes of Germany, — a fact made conspicuously apparent by the amount of attention which Tacitus devotes to this subject in the works referred to. Under these circumstances, the conscientious historian must have felt the need of gathering from all sources accessible to him — and they lay in profusion around him — what could be learned concerning these semi-civilized tribes of the North, who had so often routed Roman legions and proved so effective a barrier against Roman aggression and world-dominion. The material thus secured must soon have accumulated to an extent which made it impossible

to incorporate it in his narrative, even supposing, what cannot be proved, that such had been his original intention.[1]

But be this as it may, the treatise *de origine, situ, moribus ac populis Germanorum*, as its highly artistic structure and stylistic elaboration show, was designed for publication as an *independent* monograph. It may, moreover, be safely asserted that no one reading the *Germania* for the first time, and ignorant of the acrid controversy regarding its alleged purpose, can carry away from its perusal any other impression than that its contents strictly conform to the traditional title, be this genuinely Tacitean or not. If the *Germania* is thus clearly seen to be a *geographical-ethnological* treatise, then its evident purpose can have been none other than that which stimulates all great writers to literary productivity, namely, the desire to give to cultured contemporaries and to posterity the results of their intellectual efforts or their laborious research on topics which they believe to be of intrinsic interest and permanent value.

But modern critics, not satisfied with so simple and plausible a solution of the question, have for generations, with more or less ingenuity, endeavored to discover some hidden and ulterior purpose.

Thus some have contended, with considerable warmth of conviction, that Tacitus wrote the *Germania* with a distinctly *ethical* or *satirical* purpose, his immediate design being to hold a mirror up to his degenerate age. This hypothesis seems to be based upon the undeniable fact that Tacitus on the one hand repeatedly idealizes these northern barbarians, and on the other constantly emphasizes their

[1] The devices of the excursus and appendix, like the foot-note, were unknown to the ancients. All details of an episodic nature, even though they seriously interrupted the continuity of the narrative, had, therefore, to be embodied in the text itself, if they were to be mentioned at all.

simple virtues, thus accentuating by contrast the vices of civilized Rome.

As regards the idealization of Germanic traits and customs,[1] it must be observed, not only that it is at best incidental, but that a similar attitude is shared by the ancients generally, who from Homer down have thrown a halo of innocence and rectitude about the remote people of the North, for distance has always lent enchantment to the view and *omne ignotum pro magnifico.* Now to a man like Tacitus who, dissatisfied with the conditions in which his lot was cast, longed to dwell in the 'good old times,' these sturdy, vigorous Germans naturally came to serve as a welcome background for his pessimistic reflections. The resultant contrasts, so disparaging to the society of his day, were thus partly the natural outcome of the subject-matter as such, partly the reflection of those convictions and feelings which give to all of the author's writings that distinctive character and individuality which we designate as Tacitean.[2]

But while the view maintaining the ethical or satirical purpose of the *Germania* has now been all but universally abandoned, another hypothesis, though without a scintilla of evidence and objectionable on many grounds, has been and still is tenaciously held by numerous scholars of repute.[3]

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[1] Cp. the admirable paper of A. Riese, *Idealisirung der Naturvölker des Nordens in der griech. u. röm. Literat.*, Gymn. Program. Frankfurt a/M. 1875, p. 46. and esp. p. 43 ff., and R. Hirzel, Ἄγραφος Νόμος, Abh. der sächs. Acad. 1900, p. 86 f.

[2] Its absence would at once stamp a work handed down under his name as apocryphal, and hence the occurrence of these peculiarly Tacitean features in the *Dialogus* constitutes one of the many irrefutable proofs of the authenticity of that treatise, a fact which the two or three advocates of its spuriousness persistently ignore.

[3] E.g. by Asbach, Zernial, Furneaux, Goelzer. Their theory has now found a very distinguished ally in *K. Müllenhoff* († 1884). whose lectures on the *Germania*, though first delivered more than a genera-

Briefly stated, their contention is this: The *Germania* is a *political pamphlet*, written as a kind of *vade mecum* for the emperor Trajan and in opposition to a powerful jingo party in Rome which, it is alleged, clamored for a progressive policy and vigorous offensive measures against the Germans. Trajan, who had now for two years been occupied with restoring order and discipline among the Rhenish legions, and had been actively engaged in fortifying the frontier line against Germanic aggression, received the news of his succession to the throne sometime in 98 A.D., but he did not return to the city till 99 A.D. All eyes were turned to the north, all Rome was on the *qui vive*, so we are told, as to the ultimate outcome of the emperor's activity. This condition of suspense naturally awakened renewed interest in the history, origin, customs, prowess, etc., of Rome's inveterate but still unconquered foes. The appearance in 98 A.D. of the *Germania* of Tacitus was, therefore, singularly well-timed, and, composed as it was, by a distinguished statesman[1] whose consular term of office had just expired, the treatise must have created something of a sensation and proved an effective weapon in the hands of the supporters of Trajan's alleged defensive policy.

In this entire argumentation, everything is pure assumption. There is no evidence of the existence of an expansionist party; none that the Romans at this particular time craved for enlightenment and instruction as to the character, customs, and location of Germanic tribes, especially as they

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tion ago, have only recently (1898–1900) been published as vol. IV. of his monumental work, the *Deutsche Alterthümer*. See esp. pp. 11–17.

[1] It is interesting to observe how the advocates of this theory never fail to speak of the *statesman* Tacitus, although he was at the time known to fame only as an *orator*, nor have we any evidence that would have entitled him to that designation at any other period in his career.

possessed works in abundance which could have satisfied this hypothetical craving. The alleged opportuneness of the publication of the treatise is purely accidental. Tacitus, as he tells us himself, had written nothing throughout the reign of Domitian (*Agr.* 3, 26 ff.). When, with the death of the cruel despot in 96 A.D., it again became possible, to use his own words, *sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere*, he also ventured to break the silence to which he had been condemned so long, and there appeared in rapid succession the noble biography of his father-in-law, Agricola, and our treatise, the material for which he had doubtless been collecting for some time previous, and which, unlike the excursus on the Jews (*Hist.* V. 1–13) or that on Britain and its inhabitants (*Agr.* 10–12), as already remarked, was too extensive for incorporation in its entirety in his contemplated history of the Empire. If the *Germania* could thus not possibly have been issued earlier than 96 A.D., nor later, for Tacitus has given us the *terminus ante quem* himself (ch. 37, 5 ff.), the striking significance of the publication, in 98 A.D., must be pronounced purely imaginary, and hence all the inferences which have so freely been drawn from this assumption fall to the ground.

But even if the conclusions just refuted were less arbitrary and gratuitous than they are, positive evidence, destructive of the hypothesis under notice, is by no means lacking.

If the *Germania* had been intended as a political *brochure*, it is impossible to understand why every indication of its character should be so absolutely wanting. We know but little, it is true, of this species of literature among the Romans, but, though extensively resorted to in the last days of the Republic, it must have been for obvious reasons exceedingly rare under the Empire. In any case, the fact cannot be too strongly emphasized that a pamphlet which studiously avoids everything of a political nature, which

gives expression to no political convictions, but on the contrary is taken up exclusively with topics which under no imaginable circumstances could have legitimately found a place in it, was never composed as a political treatise and would never have been recognized as such by any contemporary reader.[1]

Again, if, as many scholars maintain, the *Germania* was primarily designed for Trajan, and secondarily for the Roman public, then Tacitus' treatise was nothing less than an act of presumption and supererogation, for whatever Trajan's plans may have been, he was certainly in exceptionally favorable circumstances to learn at *first hand* what the author of the *Germania* could only have ascertained at *second hand*, not to mention that the information concerning the tribes beyond the Elbe, and of the remote North, would have been both useless and irrelevant, for even in the wildest flights of alleged Roman expansionists, the conquest, e.g. of the Fenni, Sitones, and Aestii could never have been contemplated.

To these considerations, quite sufficient to disprove the hypothesis of the political purpose of the *Germania*, two others may be added which, though equally strong, have hitherto been overlooked.

The object of the historical retrospect in ch. 37, which deals with the disasters sustained by Roman arms at the hands of northern barbarians within a period of two centuries, has generally been supposed to be to inculcate the futility

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[1] The inherent absurdity of the theory seems to have been felt by Müllenhoff, but he endeavors to neutralize it by an assertion so astounding that it will be well to quote his own words, p. 16: "That this special motive and purpose (i.e. the political) was suppressed by Tacitus could only enhance the effectiveness of the treatise. . . . Everything, and even this silence, thus points to this aim." By such reasoning almost anything could be demonstrated.

of further aggressive campaigns, by showing what formidable and invincible enemies these Germans had been in the past. It thus constituted, though only by shrewd implication, the very key-note of the treatise. But if so, the insertion of this passage was singularly tactless and insulting, in that the author would have depreciated the ability of so great a general, as Trajan admittedly was, to cope successfully with these foes, on the ground that all his predecessors had ignominously failed. Again, in a political pamphlet, designed for the immediate present, the statement that it was written in the second consulship of Trajan would be as gratuitous as if an American pamphleteer to-day, in an article written for the American public, were to tell his readers that the Philippine insurrection occurred during the third year of McKinley's administration. In a scientific monograph, however, elaborated into a work of literary art and as such intended for posterity, the chronological data referred to are eminently proper. The entire chapter was, moreover, so manifestly suggested by the incidental mention of the Cimbri, once so powerful but now so insignificant, that the assumption of any ulterior purpose for its insertion is in no way justified.

Finally, the very style of the *Germania* precludes its having ever been intended as a political pamphlet, for this imperatively called for a distinctively oratorical treatment, belonging, as it did, to what the ancient rhetoricians term the λόγος ψόγου, the opposite of the encomium.[1]

We must, therefore, conclude that the treatise *de origine*,

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[1] Many have taken refuge in a kind of compromise, and speak of an ethico-political treatise, but this, apart from being open to the objections pointed out above, is quite incompatible with the assumption that its author was a practical statesman who wrote for contemporaries in support of a definite policy. Tacitus was not a philosophical rhetorician and political theorist like Isocrates.

situ, moribus ac populis Germanorum is precisely what its title unmistakably implies, namely, an *ethnological-geographical monograph*, albeit characterized by all those individualistic traits, both as regards style and substance, which we associate with the name of Tacitus and with him alone. It was the immediate outcome of his studies devoted to the history of the Empire; and the intrinsic interest of the theme, possibly also the conviction that he could furnish a more consistent, detailed, and authentic account than his predecessors, suggested to him the expediency of publishing his material as an independent contribution to the already extensive literature on this subject.

II.

THE SOURCES OF THE GERMANIA.[1]

In spite of its small compass, the *Germania* contains some six hundred items of information, of which only about *seventy* are also found elsewhere. It thus constitutes incomparably the most exhaustive treatise on this or any similar topic that has been preserved to us from antiquity. There is, in fact, scarcely a single feature of Germanic life, in all its various manifestations, that has not received some attention, although, owing to the author's striving after the utmost condensation, we have been deprived of many details which would have thrown the requisite light upon subjects now enveloped in obscurity, for of the original sources to which Tacitus still had access almost none have come down to us.

What these sources were can be determined with approximate completeness, and that the author availed himself of

[1] For a more detailed discussion of this subject, see *Proceed. and Transact. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, vol. XXXI. (1900).

all that seemed to him of real value, may also be asserted with entire confidence; but the moment we approach the question as to the specific extent of his direct indebtedness to his predecessors, we are confronted with a problem as difficult as it is fascinating.

The *possible* sources of Tacitus for the *Germania* may be classified under three heads: —

1. First-hand information gathered by the author himself in German territory through personal interviews and observations.

2. Information, chiefly oral, furnished by personal friends or military officers who had been in Germany or on the frontier.

3. Literary records dealing incidentally or exclusively with German ethnology and geography.

The first possibility, though strenuously advocated by many scholars,[1] must, however, be rejected, for the treatise does not contain a solitary item which could be accounted for only on the supposition of a personal visit, not to mention that such a journey of exploration would have been next to impossible on the part of a Roman, even in those regions to which Roman legions had at one time or another penetrated. Finally, a number of passages in the treatise itself would necessarily have been expressed differently if Tacitus had himself come into contact with the people whom he describes.[2]

But while the author's knowledge of Germany was thus

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[1] In its extremest form and to the point of absurdity, this was done by *Kritz*.

[2] Cp. esp. R. Koepke, *Zur Quellenkritik der Germania*, in *Deutsche Forschungen* (1859), pp. 5–43, 222–226; A. Baumstark, *Urdeutsche Alterthümer*, pp. 43–58; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, vol. IV. pp. 23–26; A. Lueckenbach, *De Germaniae quae vocatur Taciteae fontibus*, Marburg Diss. 1891, pp. 55–69.

necessarily derived wholly at *second hand*, it is to the highest degree probable that the amount of authentic information which came to him through the medium of friends and eye-witnesses of things Germanic was far more extensive than has generally been assumed, particularly as we have positive evidence that Tacitus, in his *Histories* and *Annals*, repeatedly availed himself of such exceptional opportunities.[1]

But, however considerable the material so accumulated may have been, the great bulk of his information cannot well have been due to other than *literary* sources.

Julius Caesar. — The earliest Roman description of Germanic life and customs is contained in a few paragraphs of Caesar's *Gallic War*.[2] That Tacitus knew these famous Commentaries, would go without saying, even if he had not expressly referred to their author in a highly complimentary manner.[3] In view of this fact, scholars have without exception assumed that this work was among the principal and direct sources of Tacitus, although the demonstrable acquaintance with an earlier account, be it never so famous, does not in itself imply that it was also extensively consulted. As the work in question is fortunately extant, the alleged indebtedness of Tacitus can still be determined with

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[1] Cp. Ph. Fabia, *Les Sources de Tacite*, pp. 220–222, 342–346; and esp. Plin. *Epist.* VI. 16, 1, *petis ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam quo verius tradere posteris possis.*

[2] IV. 1–4 (concerning the Suebi); VI. 21–24, to which are added three chapters (25–28) on the Hercynian forest and its wonderful fauna, incidental references being also found in the first book, esp. ch. 31–54.

[3] Ch. 28, 6, *summus auctorum divus Iulius tradit*, etc. It is the solitary passage in the treatise in which an author is mentioned by name, and it is, perhaps, not without significance that the only other allusion to the *De Bello Gallico* in Tacitus (viz. *Agr.* 11, 16) pertains to the identical statement there made concerning the degeneracy of the Gauls.

satisfactory accuracy. Now, a careful comparison between the two authors, where they deal with the same or similar topics, reveals the fact that there is but a single passage in the *Germania* which can be said to betray the direct influence of Caesar,[1] for the few other verbal coincidences[2] pertain to statements which would naturally be expressed in but one way. Other items of information exhibit either noteworthy *divergences* or amplifications of so significant a character as to preclude Caesar as the direct or even the ultimate source of Tacitus on the subjects in question. In fact, the wealth of new details and the very nature of the material in the *Germania* bear eloquent testimony to the advance made in the geographical and ethnological knowledge of Germany since Caesar's time. Caesar, it cannot but be admitted, had at best only a superficial acquaintance with Germanic tribes, an acquaintance, moreover, acquired under one-sided conditions, for their most characteristic customs, ceremonies, and modes of life could only be observed in times of *peace*. A considerable part of the information which he furnished on these subjects was, therefore, necessarily secured at second hand. Nay, it can even still be shown that Caesar had himself occasionally consulted earlier *literary* sources[3] which were, of course, equally accessible to Tacitus.

If the above indisputable facts are taken into considera-

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[1] Viz. ch. 1, 1, *Germania omnis*, with its abrupt opening. Cp. note ad loc.

[2] Cp. notes ch. 9, 26; 15, 5; the former statement is, however, noteworthy, because it is made of the Germans by Tacitus, but applied by Caesar to the Gauls exclusively.

[3] See *B. G.* VI. 24, 2, *Hercyniam silvam quam Eratostheni et quibusdam Graecis fama notam esse video*, and my note on ch. 30, 21. That Posidonius was one of these seems all but certain. Cp. Müllenhoff, *D. A.* II. p. 182, and below.

tion, and if it be further observed that Tacitus was in every instance in possession of fuller and more reliable knowledge than was vouchsafed to Caesar, we cannot but reject the assumption of *extensive* indebtedness, and must conclude that the *Commentaries*, though certainly documents of prime importance, cannot, in the eyes of Tacitus, writing as he did more than a century later, have had anything more than an historical interest and value.

Two other works, also still extant, have without misgivings or qualifications been likewise put down among the certain sources of the *Germania*, namely, the *Chorographia* of one *Pomponius Mela* (c. 50 A.D.) and the so-called *Natural History* of the elder *Pliny*, numerous alleged resemblances, both in contents and phraseology, having been adduced in support of this view. But this inference is vitiated at the very outset by the non-observance of a methodical canon in investigations of this nature, which, though generally ignored, is essential if our conclusions are to rest on a firm foundation. It may be briefly formulated by saying that mere *similitude*, though apparently never so striking, does not in itself afford any reliable clew to indebtedness, provided there exist side by side equally noteworthy *divergences* or *contradictions;* even where this is not the case, the possibility must always be taken into consideration that such parallelisms are due either to a common third source or conditioned by the similarity of the subject-matter.

Now, if we apply this cardinal principle to the two authors in question, it will be found that the hitherto universally accepted conclusion that Tacitus was directly indebted to them is unwarranted by the facts.

Pomponius Mela. — In the reign of Claudius, one *Pomponius Mela* composed a compendious geography of the world (*situs orbis*) in three books. The author tells us, in his Preface, that the subject does not lend itself

readily to rhetorical treatment, worthy of attention though it be.

To relieve the weary monotony of geographical names with which the rhetorician found himself confronted, recourse is accordingly had to stylistic embellishment. As regards ethnological details, which Mela distributes with a lavish and reckless hand, it may be said that there is perhaps no ancient treatise, professedly scientific and didactic, which so teems with grotesque information, culled from the rich storehouse of Hellenic fancy, myth, and anecdote; for everything is grist that comes to his rhetorical mill. Pliny the Elder, omnivorous reader that he was, does, indeed, cite the *Chorographia* of Mela as among his sources, but thereafter all genuine traces of its influence disappear until the early Middle Ages. The value which attaches to it in modern times is solely due to the accident that it is the earliest geographical treatise extant in Latin, and that it contains no fewer than fifteen hundred geographical names.[1]

Now, the *third* chapter of the *third* book, comprising less than fifty lines, is devoted to Germany, and to this extremely meagre account we are asked to believe that Tacitus was under deep obligation for many details of fact, while his stylistic indebtedness to this rhetorician is made to extend over the entire compilation.[2] But to suppose that Tacitus

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[1] Mela seems to have been chiefly indebted to a geographical work of Cornelius Nepos, who is expressly quoted, and to some map, perhaps that of Agrippa. Eudoxus, Hipparchus, and Hanno, though also cited, were doubtless known to the author only at second or third hand.

[2] How deeply rooted this conviction is, will be best illustrated by the fact that all recent editors have had no scruples to change *redit* to *recedit* (ch. 35, 2), simply because of a similar passage in Mela, and yet the unanimous reading of the Mss. is not only wholly unobjectionable, but it is supported by Vergil, and, finally, by none other than Mela himself! See note ad loc. and Crit. Appendix.

deliberately selected so brief[1] and ludicrously inadequate a paragraph as this for imitation is like maintaining that a Kiepert or a Mommsen consulted a school geography or history. There is, moreover, very little in this chapter to correspond to the account of Tacitus, the similar items of information being of the most commonplace character and partly found in Caesar.

Under these circumstances, it is quite superfluous to discuss at any length the alleged stylistic influence of Mela upon Tacitus. Suffice it to say that the verbal coincidences so zealously collected,[2] either do not pertain to the same topics or were unavoidable, many expressions belonging to the common vocabulary of the language, while in others the resemblance is imaginary or, at best, extremely faint.[3] Finally, as these fancied reminiscences are culled from all the three books of Mela, and not, as one would expect, from the chapter on Germany alone, it would logically follow that one of the greatest stylistic artists in the world's literature

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[1] Fully one-half of it is, moreover, taken up with a bald enumeration of the forests, swamps, and rivers of Germany, together with a description of the *sinus Codanus* in which Scandinavia is supposed to be located.

[2] Esp. by Manitius in *Forsch. z. deutsch. Geschichte*, vol. XXII. (1882), pp. 417–422.

[3] To substantiate this charge, it will suffice merely to select at random a few out of many phrases of Mela, more or less closely paralleled in the *Germania*, all of which have been seriously adduced to establish Tacitean indebtedness: *sagum* (cp. 17, 4); *magna ex parte silvis ac paludibus invia* (5, 14); *insitam feritatem* (43, 1); *adsuetudine laborum maxime frigoris* (4, 12); *nudi agunt* (20, 24); *lugere sollemne sit* (27, 32); *celebrata carminibus* (2, 3); *sui similis* (4, 6); *nomen dedit urbs* (45, 16); *manent vestigia* (37, 28); *expediam* (28, 4); *erumpit* (1, 10); *meatibus* (1, 11); *frons* (42, 5); *mare cingitur* (45, 25 f.); *hactenus ad occidentem* (35, 1); *contermina* (36, 23); *gentem . . . adluit* (45, 4 f.); *inclutis amnibus* (41, 26); *ambitur* (1, 3); *interiores* (5, 28), etc., etc.

was so captivated by a rhetorical treatise which contained next to nothing for his purpose, that he did not hesitate to adopt its commonplace phraseology and appropriate its most nondescript expressions.

Pliny's Natural History. — Tacitus' indebtedness to the *Natural History* of the elder Pliny has been advocated with no less confidence, and yet this assumption is also demonstrably erroneous. Admitting, what is not improbable, that Tacitus was acquainted with this encyclopaedia, it does not, in the first place, seem plausible that he laboriously searched all through so voluminous a compilation for details to be utilized in his *Germania*; for, with the exception of a short chapter in bk. IV., Pliny's references to Germany are few, incidental, and scattered over the thirty-seven books. Now, if we examine the passages upon which the above conviction is primarily based, — they are but two in number, — we find that these, on the contrary, afford the clearest evidence that the *Natural History* was not put under contribution.

Thus Pliny (IV. 13, 28, 99 f.) divides all Germanic races into *five* large groups.[1] Tacitus, on the other hand, cites only *three*, omitting the *first* and *last*, but mentions another classification on the authority of *older* sources,[2] which added the *Vandili* and *three* other tribes, one of which, the *Suebi*, is given as a *subdivision* by *Pliny*, while the other two are omitted altogether. Again, the *Suebi* are clearly differentiated by *Tacitus* from the *Herminones*, in flat contradiction to Pliny. Finally, of the tribes enumerated by the latter,

[1] *Vandili quorum pars Burgodiones, Varinnae, Charini, Gutones. Alterum genus Ingaeuones, quorum pars Cimbri Teutoni ac Chaucorum gentes. Proximi autem Rheno Istiaeones, quorum pars Sugambri. Mediterranei Hermiones, quorum Suebi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherusci. Quinta pars Peucini, Basternae.*

[2] Ch. 2, 8, *quidam ut in licentia vetustatis . . . adfirmant.*

Tacitus wholly ignores the *Burgodiones*, *Charini*, *Sugambri*, and knows of but one *gens Chaucorum.*

But it is upon the description of amber (ch. 45) that Tacitean indebtedness to Pliny's encyclopaedia is alleged to rest most securely, for the latter devotes no fewer than sixteen paragraphs to this very subject (*N. H.* XXXVII. 2, 11, 30–46), his very enumeration of the many authors who dealt with the origin and provenance of amber showing clearly, as may be observed in passing, that an extensive literature concerning this substance existed before Pliny's time. Now, it is certainly not without significance that the *one* noteworthy agreement[1] between him and Tacitus (for the other coincidences of statement pertain to details of unquestionably common knowledge and observation) is expressly cited as a fact known to *prisci nostri.* On the other hand, Tacitus gives a number of details not found in Pliny. Thus the former conspicuously mentions the Aestii as engaged in the amber trade, and speaks only of the Baltic Sea; the latter says nothing of this tribe, and refers only to the shores of the North Sea as the region where the amber came from.[2]

If any further proof of Tacitus' independence of Pliny were needed, it would be furnished by their widely discrepant and irreconcilable descriptions of the *Chauci.*[3] Pliny pictures them as living in sordid poverty and devoid of all

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[1] Cp. Plin. l.c. 43, *arboris sucum esse etiam prisci nostri credidere, ob id sucinum appellantes* . . . 46 *liquidum id primo destillare argumento sunt quaedam intus tralucentia* . . . 43 *pineus in adtritu odor et quod accensum taedae modo ac nidore flagrat*, with ch. 45, 18 f. 27.

[2] Cp. also 45, 15 ff. It is, however, quite possible that Pliny, l.c. 35, wrote *Suionibus* (mentioned by T. immediately after his account of amber) instead of *Guionibus*, an otherwise wholly unknown name which he cites from Pytheas.

[3] *N. H.* XVI. 1, 1, 4, and *Germ.* 35, 7 ff.

culture and refinement, a people to whom subjection to Rome could not but have proved a veritable blessing, though they were too blind to recognize this; the other paints the *Chauci* in roseate colors, and styles them *populus inter Germanos nobilissimus*. The strong tendency of Tacitus to idealize will not in this instance satisfactorily account for this noteworthy divergence, for the *Chauci* were a tribe well known to the Romans, and Pliny's description is probably that of an eye-witness. If, therefore, the *Natural History* was consulted by Tacitus, as we are assured, it is hard to understand why he, with such trustworthy information before him, deliberately discarded this authority in a matter in which he might so easily have been convicted of misrepresentation.

But if this encyclopaedia must, therefore, be eliminated from the probable sources of Tacitus, the same writer's *Bella Germaniae*, in no fewer than twenty books, may be with some confidence classed among the works consulted. It unquestionably constituted a rich mine of varied information for a treatise like the *Germania*; it is cited by Tacitus himself (*Ann.* I. 69); and was admittedly one of his authorities in his *Annales*. But this valuable history, like the *libri belli Germanici* of *Aufidius Bassus*, of which Pliny wrote a continuation, has wholly perished, so that the extent of Tacitus' obligations to these works cannot be determined.

Sallust and Livy. — The possible influence of two other Roman historians[1] upon the *Germania* has still to be con-

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[1] I intentionally omit *Velleius Paterculus*, though his information was derived at first hand, he having served in the German campaigns under Tiberius. His fulsome eulogies of Tiberius were doubtless utterly repugnant to the author of the *Annals*, nor is there the faintest trace of indebtedness to him either in the *Germania* or in Tacitus' later writings.

sidered, namely, *Sallust* and *Livy*. Both were held in high esteem by Tacitus,[1] and Livy's description of Britain was demonstrably known to him, while Sallust served as his model for historical composition.[2] There can, therefore, be no doubt that he was not likely to have ignored anything these famous historians had written concerning Germany.

But that Sallust had given an account of the tribes and customs of Germany in an excursus of his *Histories*, usually cited by grammarians under the title of *de situ Pontico*, is an arbitrary assumption which is in no way strengthened by the incidental mention of the word *Germani* in two isolated fragments.[3]

Livy. — *Livy*, on the other hand, did deal at some length with the geography and customs of Germany.[4] But as his sources can have been none other than Caesar and probably Posidonius[5] it were rash to assert, in the absence of all definite clews, that Tacitus is directly indebted to Livy; nor has his style left any but faint impressions upon the later historian.[6]

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[1] Cp. *Agr.* 10, 10, *Livius veterum . . . eloquentissimi auctores*, etc.; *Ann.* IV. 34, *T. Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis*. *Ann.* III. 30, *C. Sallustius rerum Romanorum florentissimus auctor*.

[2] Cp. *Introd. Agr.*, p. xxiv f., xxxvi.

[3] Viz. *fragm.* III. 57 K. *Germani intectum renonibus corpus tegunt*, apparently a mere echo of Caesar. *B. G.* VI. 21, 5, *pellibus aut parvis renonum tegumentis utuntur;* and *fragm.* 55, *nomenque Danuvium habet* (sc. Ister) *ut ad Germanorum terras adstringit*. On the sources of Sallust's *de situ Pontico*, among whom Posidonius was one, cp. Müllenhoff, *D. A.* III. pp. 75 ff. It may be observed, that neither the term *Ister* nor *renones* occurs in the *Germania*.

[4] *Epitome Liv.* (Periocha, bk. 104), at the beginning: *prima pars libri situm Germaniae moresque continet*, followed by the narrative of Caesar's campaigns.

[5] Cp. Müllenhoff, *D. A.* II. pp. 125 ff.

[6] Cp. *Introd. Agr.* p. xxxvi, and notes ch. 3, 1 f.; 33, 15.

But even granting that the *Germania* was under considerably greater obligations to the authors discussed above[1] than the evidence will warrant us in assuming, there still remains a class of topics, and they are among the most valuable and interesting in the entire treatise, which are not so much as alluded to in any of our extant sources. I mean the subject of Germanic mythology, religious origins, and ritual. This information must have been based upon the researches of some scholar who devoted special attention to topics of this kind, and it is, therefore, not without significance that Tacitus, particularly in these chapters, repeatedly refers, contrary to his usual reticence, to some previous authority.[2] Can his identity be discovered?

Posidonius. — Although the supposition does not admit of positive proof, numerous indications clearly point to the Stoic *Posidonius* of Apamea as one of the direct or indirect sources of the *Germania*.

This consummate scholar, the last and, next to Aristotle, perhaps the most encyclopaedic investigator in antiquity,

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[1] I have designedly omitted the celebrated map of the world by Agrippa, for if it be true that Strabo, Mela, Pliny, Ptolemaeus, and others made an extensive use of it, Tacitus cannot also have followed it, as the irreconcilable divergences in the names of tribes is sufficient to prove. Maps were very generally accessible at a comparatively early date, as is clear from the way one such is spoken of in Prop. IV. (V.), 3, 35 ff., *et disco qua parte fluat vincendus Araxes . . . cogor et e tabula pictos ediscere mundos.* It is probable that Tacitus mainly followed the διόρθωσις τοῦ γεωγραφικοῦ πίνακος, the elaborate work of *Marinus* of Tyre, a contemporary geographer of distinction. Cp. Müllenhoff, l.c. III. p. 91 ff.; IV. 51 f.

[2] Cp. ch. 2, 6, *adsignant, adfirmant;* 3, 17, *memorant, quidam opinantur;* 4, 4, *eorum opinionibus accedo;* 9, 30, *parum comperi.* According to a method of citation much in vogue among the ancients, the plurals, like ἔνιοι, φασί, and the like, in Greek, do not necessarily imply more than one writer, the plural number being often due to the authorities cited in the source directly consulted.

the friend and teacher of Cicero, has only in recent times been restored to honor. His influence, especially upon the Romans, in many fields of human knowledge, has been incalculably profound and lasting. His Ἱστορίαι, in fifty-two books, which began where Polybius left off and continued the narrative to the time of Sulla (i.e. from 144 to c. 80 B.C.), was extensively utilized by later writers, such as Livy, Strabo, Diodorus, Plutarch, and many others, the exhaustive account of the wars with the Cimbri and Teutones, in particular, enjoying canonic authority. Distinguished by all the graces of style, his writings abounded in elaborate discussions of a geographical, ethological, and ethnological[1] nature, and he everywhere manifested a keen interest in religious origins, mythology, and the development of society. With Tacitus he shared to a remarkable degree the tendency to idealize the times and barbarian communities. Thus the strikingly similar reflections on the purity and righteousness of the Scythians, found e g. in Verg. *Georg.* III. 376 ff.; Hor. *Carm.* III. 24, 9 ff.; Justin. II. 2, are demonstrably Posidonian. Livy, Caesar, and, above all, Sallust, especially in his introductions to the *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*, drank from the same fountain. Varro, also, in his monumental work, entitled *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* in forty-one books, Seneca, the poet Manilius, and, as late as the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus, were all alike, though in varying degree, considerably indebted to this Stoic savant.

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[1] The doctrine of the influence of climate upon character is directly attributed to Posidonius by Galen. Though he cannot be considered its originator, the general familiarity with the idea in later writers is probably due to him. It is implied in Mela. III. 3, 33, *ut caeli asperioris ita ingenii* (of the Sarmatians) and esp. in *Germ.* 29, 13 f., where see note. The sentiment in ch. 19. 22, has also a Posidonian flavor, as pointed out ad loc.

That the works of Posidonius, more particularly the exhaustive account of the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, must have constituted a welcome repository of trustworthy information on Germany can still be shown, for apart from the fact already pointed out, that the above-mentioned narrative remained the standard treatment of those tribes, we owe to Posidonius the first mention of the name *Germani*[1] and the first description of that country.[2]

Under these circumstances, it does not seem probable that Tacitus would have failed to avail himself of the labors of so reliable, so suggestive, and so learned an authority, whose very attitude of mind and point of view, moreover, as manifested, e.g., in his tendency to idealize barbarian races, must have been singularly sympathetic to our author.[3] Although the precise nature and extent of this indebtedness must, of course, remain problematical, there is at least one piece of detailed information in the *Germania* for which Posidonius seems reasonably certain to have been, if not the direct, yet the ultimate source.

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[1] Athen. IV. p. 153 e. Müllenhoff, *D. A.* II. pp. 153 ff., intent upon proving that Caesar was the first to distinguish the Celts from the Germans, is finally driven to the arbitrary hypothesis that Athenaeus interpolated the name into his direct citation from Posidonius, and that Strabo, Valerius Maximus, Velleius, and Diodorus all wantonly changed the terms Γαλαταί, Κελτοί, or Galli, given in their sources, to Germani. But Caesar was already acquainted with the latter designation before he encountered German tribes, and as he regards the Cimbri and Teutones as Germanic, nothing is more plausible than that their great historian, Posidonius, had done so too. Cp. also *Philol.* LVIII. p. 29. Caesar knew but few trans-Rhenish people intimately, and, if he clearly differentiated these from the Celtic Gauls, it does not follow that he had determined the racial distinctions of the German peoples as a whole, as Tacitus did, on the strength of the extensive information at his disposal.

[2] Plut. *Mar.* 26.

[3] See above, p. xli.

The identification of Germanic deities with the gods of Rome and Greece was familiar to Caesar.[1] This process must, therefore, antedate the *de Bello Gallico*, but if so, there is no one, save Posidonius, to whom its general introduction[2] can plausibly be attributed, for he is the only previous scholar, so far as known, who paid any attention to the mythology of Germanic and Celtic races.

Summing up this entire discussion, the following conclusions may be set down as reasonably established: —

1. The material collected in the *Germania* is taken entirely at *second hand*, for the hypothesis that Tacitus himself visited German territory has nothing in its favor and everything against it.

2. There is every reason to believe that a very considerable mass of details, far more than has generally been supposed, was furnished directly to the author by friends

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[1] *B. G.* VI. 17, 1 ff.; 21, 2, where he says that Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva were the deities worshipped by the Gauls, but only the Sun, Vulcan, and the Moon by the Germans. See note ch. 9, 28.

[2] The fact that Tacitus styles this method *interpretatio Romana* (ch. 43, 27) does not necessitate the assumption of a Roman source, for its origin is unquestionably Greek, as is evident from the identification of *Donar* and the *Alci* with *Hercules* and the *Dioscuri* (notes ch. 9, 27; 43, 25 ff.), these gods or demigods having no fixed place in the Roman Pantheon. Probably shortly after Posidonius, some Roman antiquarian substituted *Jupiter* for *Hercules*, and this genuine *interpretatio Romana* was universally accepted, as is clear from the Fr. *Jeudi* (*Jovis dies*) by the side of Germ. *Donnerstag* (Donar's day), Engl. *Thursday*. *Saturday* (*Saturni dies*) also points to a Roman origin. The Latin authority may well have been Varro, in his *libri rerum divinarum*, published in 47 B.C. and dedicated to Caesar. Posidonius was demonstrably one of the sources of this great work, and Tacitus may also have been indebted to it, but in mentioning *Hercules*, to the exclusion of *Jupiter*, he clearly follows the *interpretatio Graeca*.

who had superior advantages of personal observation in Germanic lands, and indirectly through trading merchants.

3. (*a*) Of the literary sources, *still extant* only Caesar was demonstrably familiar to Tacitus; but direct indebtedness to the *de Bello Gallico* is confined within the narrowest limits, and it must be wholly denied for *Mela* and Pliny's *Natural History.*

(*b*) Of writers dealing with Germany, either exclusively or incidentally, but *no longer preserved*, Pliny's exhaustive *Bella Germaniae* may be supposed to have been extensively used, and it is to the highest degree probable, though not susceptible of absolute proof, that *Posidonius* also contributed his share, both in matters of detail and in suggestiveness, to make the *Germania* what it is. To assume a direct influence of *Sallust*, however, is unwarranted, so long as the very existence of an alleged contribution of his to the geography and ethnology of Germany must be seriously questioned. On the other hand, *Livy's* treatment of the subject was undoubtedly known to Tacitus, but as the former's information was derived wholly from one or two sources which the author of the *Germania* also knew at first hand, and, when it is added that our own treatise exhibits no significant parallelisms with Livy's style, any direct indebtedness to this historian is, to say the least, not intrinsically plausible.

(*c*) Finally, it is fairly probable that Tacitus may have consulted Varro, Aufidius Bassus, and Marinus' map, as well as others [1] now no longer ascertainable.[2]

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[1] If he was acquainted with the work of the famous navigator, *Pytheas of Massilia* (fourth century), it was certainly only at second or third hand.

[2] Nor can the geographer *Strabo* be included among the sources of the *Germania*, for though his famous Geography contains a consider-

III.

THE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE GERMANIA.

The trustworthiness of the varied and extensive information imparted in the *Germania* is directly conditioned by the nature of the sources consulted. That these comprised the very best available in the author's time can admit of no question, but the following considerations may serve to confirm the highly authentic character of this treatise.

In the first place, we meet with scarcely a single *statement of fact* which can be said to be *inherently improbable* or *incredible.*[1] The significance of this observation will be appreciated at its proper value, if we compare the accounts in Strabo, Diodorus, Mela, Pliny, and even Caesar; for these abound in numerous details which every modern reader will at once recognize as fabulous, grotesque, or impossible.

In the second place, it may be asserted, without qualification, that Tacitus has not been convicted of a *solitary misstatement, where he might or must have known better.* Not that this treatise is faultless; on the contrary, it contains many items of information which modern scholarship must reject or, at least, modify; but in every instance the error is due to well-recognizable causes. The passage is either obscure and misleading, owing to a desire for extreme conciseness of expression, or else Tacitus deals with topics on

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able number of passages on Germanic geography and ethnology, it was strangely, but without exception persistently, ignored by Roman writers.

[1] There are a few details which might make this impression, but while Tacitus did not care to omit them altogether, he himself expresses his doubts as to their authenticity. Cp. ch. 2, 8; 3, 1 ff.; 5, 20; 34, 25; 40, 14; 46, 24 ff.

which the information obtainable must have been scanty, vague, and unreliable.[1] In these cases, he has at times yielded to the temptation to which, as he himself tells us, both Livy and Rusticus succumbed in their description of Britain, who *quae nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere* (*Agr.* ch. 10, 4). The tendency, moreover, to formulate a well-balanced antithesis and to close a chapter with a neatly turned epigram has occasionally resulted in slight incongruities or unwarranted inferences.

But though the *concrete* material accumulated in the *Germania* must be pronounced eminently trustworthy and valuable, the same fidelity to ascertainable truth cannot be claimed for the numerous *reflections*, *motives*, *feelings*, or *ideals* which Tacitus attributes to the Germans. They are almost without exception fanciful[2] and, in at least one instance,[3] border on the grotesque. But these imaginative passages are due, partly to the romantic halo with which Tacitus, as pointed out above, invested the barbarian races of the north, partly to his sincere admiration of praiseworthy qualities which they actually possessed, but which he failed to find in the civilized society of his time. The very stylistic dress in which these reflections are generally presented also marks them off clearly from the strictly historical information, and hence, so far from deceiving the reader, these poetical features impart to an otherwise purely scientific treatise on ethnology and geography that irresistible fascination which the *Germania* shares with every consummate work of art.

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[1] These passages are especially noteworthy, as showing how careful the author was to give only what he had reason to believe to be genuine and trustworthy, this design being in striking contrast with the naïve credulity and the lack of discrimination displayed, e.g., by Mela. Pliny, and others.

[2] See note ch. 7, 5.

[3] Ch. 46, 20 ff.

IV.

STYLE AND RHETORIC.

That this treatise fully merits the designation just given to it will be manifest from some considerations of a more external nature.

In the first place, the arrangement of the multitudinous details is of crystalline clearness, the work being divided into two distinct parts. The *first* (ch. 1–27, 1) deals with the geography and ethnology of Germanic races *in general* and considered as a national entity. The various topics, moreover, follow in a most natural order, being often introduced by skilful transitions,[1] and the entire discussion most appropriately closes with an account of German funeral customs. The *second* (ch. 27, 2–end) takes up in detail the specific history and characteristics of the *individual* tribes, the author pursuing, as before, a consistent and carefully devised plan in their enumeration.[2] Throughout the treatise, finally, Tacitus is fond of rounding off a topic or chapter by an epigrammatic phrase.[3]

As the *Germania* is primarily a scientific treatise, the canons and exigencies of ancient rhetoric forbade its being composed wholly either in the oratorical or narrative style.[4] Hence it is only where the author's enthusiasm or feelings of admiration cause him to abandon concrete exposition for

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[1] Ch. 2, 12; 4, 4. 12; 5, 13; 6, 4; 9, 26; 18, 18; 25, 32.

[2] Cp. esp. ch. 28, 22; 32, 28; 35, 1 f.; 36, 16; 37, 26; 41, 18 ff.; 42, 5; 43, 11; 45, 4. 32.

[3] Ch. 16. 19. 22. 27. 30. 34. 37. 42. 43. 44. The same rhetorical device is still noticeably frequent in his later writings. Cp. *Hist.* I. 1. 2. 3. 14. 49. 52. 54; II. 59. 74. 77. 95; IV. 1. 9; *Ann.* I. 12. 55. 81; II. 15. 88; III. 76; XII. 64; XIV. 20. 35. 38. 58; XV. 23. 51. 74.

[4] Cp. *Introd. Dial.* p. xii.; *Agr.* p. xxiv.

vivid description or analytic reflections that his diction as well becomes pitched in a higher key. So far, then, from exhibiting a uniform type, the style of this treatise ebbs and flows, as it were, with the character of the subject-matter, ranging from severely condensed narration to passages of genuine eloquence and rhetorical art,[1] thus giving to the entire work that σεμνότης, or serious dignity of expression, which Pliny the Younger ascribed to the speeches of Tacitus, and which may justly be applied to everything else that this great writer ever penned.

An equally conspicuous feature of his style is its *brevity*, though this is less noticeable in the speeches and in the numerous elevated passages, which from their very nature called for greater rhetorical elaboration. This conciseness is chiefly brought about through the omission of all parts of speech which an attentive reader could himself supply in thought, the ellipsis of the *copula* and *particles* being especially frequent. But what distinguishes the *Germania* more particularly from all other Tacitean works is the extent to which all *periodic structure* is avoided. Our treatise is hence largely made up of very short sentences, and it thus approaches closely in this respect to the so-called Asianic type of composition,[2] which in Latin literature is best represented by Seneca. In Tacitus, however, this mode of writing is throughout solely a means to an end, admirably subserving the double purpose of crowding his multifarious and extensive information within a very small compass, and at the same time of bringing each single item into prominent and clear-cut relief. The reader is thus enabled to survey the

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[1] See especially ch. 7 f.; 13; 18 f.; 27; 30 f.; 33; 40; 46, with notes.

[2] Cp. E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, II. 131 ff., 263 ff., and esp. the brilliant article of Wilamowitz in *Hermes*, XXXV. (1900), pp. 1–52, entitled *Asianismus u. Atticismus*.

entire field without effort, and the confusion incidental to a more smoothly flowing discussion of a multiplicity of details is skilfully obviated.

The following brief synopsis of the specially noteworthy rhetorical features of the *Germania* is primarily intended to exhibit at a glance to what extent this scientific treatise is stylistically differentiated from the biography of Agricola, the comparison being particularly instructive, because both works were written about the same time.[1]

I. COLLOCATIO VERBORUM.

1. *Transposition of cognomen:*

37, 14, Scauro Aurelio.

2. *Predicate in attributive position:*

14, 27; 24, 23; 30, 6; 40, 9; 42, 2.

3. *Predicate precedes for sake of emphasis:*

3, 19; 5, 23; 10, 24; 29, 9; 39, 15; 40, 4; 44, 17 (sunt, est); 3, 23; 6, 20; 11, 14; 12, 26; 15, 14; 17, 8. 10; 18, 23; 28, 12; 29, 5. 12; 34, 24; 36, 22; 39, 22; 43, 24. In *ablative absolutes:* 3, 24; 6, 18; 12, 20; 19, 10; 25, 32; 39, 12; 42, 3; 45, 26, but unlike the *Agricola* (p. xxvii. 6), the *Germania* has but *one* instance of an ablative absolute at the close of a sentence (ch. 37, 5), and it occurs significantly in the only strictly *historical* chapter of the treatise. The *infinitive* is often at the beginning, with the *finite verb* at the end: 3, 17; 6, 23; 8, 20; 21, 10; 25, 5; 34, 23. Cp. note *Agr.* 42, 24.

4. *A word or phrase modifying two other words or phrases is preferably in the medial position:*

3, 26; 8, 15. 21; 11, 3; 12, 28; 19, 8; 25, 5; 30, 25; 31, 21; 32, 5; 33, 8; 34, 27; 38, 9; 46, 16.

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[1] For the definition of technical terms and other comment, see *Introd. Agr.* pp. xxv–xxxvii and the notes ad loc. On the stylistic relation of the *Agricola* and *Germania* to the *Dialogus*, see my *Prolegomena* to *Dial.* p. liv. ff.

5. *The adjective or pronoun follows the noun:*

1, 1; 2, 16. 3. 11; 3, 18. 32; 5, 29; 6, 15; 8, 18. 20; 9, 30; 10, 27; 13, 10; 16, 25. 27; 17, 15; 23, 14; 30. 24; 31. 23; 41, 27; 45. 27. 29, 10, populi Romani (so always); 42, 9; 43, 25. Romana, but this proper adj. precedes in 28, 24; 29, 4; 34, 22. Cp. *Introd. Agr.* p. xxvi. 5.

6. *Anastrophe:*

8, 20; 13, 8; 34, 23; 45, 15, quin etiam; 29, 12, nobiscum; 40, 8, multa cum veneratione, see note.

7. *Repetition of prepositions is in Tacitus confined to anaphoric and adversative* clauses:

7, 12; 10, 22; 11, 30; 13, 12, 18, 1; 20, 24. 1; 22, 4. 30; 23, 15; 30, 1. 3. 6; 34, 27; 35, 1. 8; 45, 31. — 18, 30 is only an apparent exception, for *extra* is there used in different meanings. On 24. 27; 25, 10; 29, 10, see notes.

8. *Anaphora:*

2, 8; 6, 13; 7, 1. 10; 11, 6. 12; 12, 24; 14, 18. 29; 16, 3; 18. 28. 32. 1; 19, 18; 20, 5; 25, 1; 30, 7; 32, 2; 35, 9; 38, 2; 40, 10. 11; 43, 27. 28; 46, 22. This figure is more extensively used in the minor works than elsewhere in Tacitus.

9. *Asyndeton:*

a. Enumerative: 2, 19 f. 5, 16; 16, 19; 18, 2; 20, 31. 7; 23, 14; 28, 23; 31, 22; 32, 2; 35, 9; 37, 18; 40, 8. 10 f.; 43, 22; 46, 3. 12 f. With *chiasmus* in the *last* member: 30, 27 ff. 43, 2; 46, 14. 20. The *last* member is *amplified:* 2, 1; 7, 1; 14, 21; 15, 16; 42, 17.

b. Adversative: 4, 10; 5, 15; 6, 56; 7, 29; 9, 1; 10, 23; 13, 3. 12; 14, 18. 23; 17, 9; 22, 10; 24, 22; 27, 31; 29, 12; 30, 5. 8; 31, 16. 25; 32, 1; 38, 9; 43, 13; 45, 9.

c. Asyndeton, followed by *et*: 4, 9; 30, 25; 36, 26; 44, 11.

10. *Polysyndeton:*

13, 1; 22, 26; 2, 20. 22; 32, 3; 37, 14; 40, 28. *Amplified in the last member*: 4, 6; 8, 17; 12, 20; 18, 26; 29, 7; 33, 9; 37, 10; 40, 13; 44, 23; 46, 10. With *chiasmus:* 33, 9.

11. *Chiasmus:*

2, 1; 3, 20; 4, 12; 7, 10; 11, 13; 13, 16; 14, 2. 29 f.; 18, 22; 19, 6; 28, 11; 29, 19; 30, 27 ff. 1; 32, 1. 4; 33, 9; 35, 9; 37, 11; 42, 4; 45, 27. 32.

12. *Alliteration:*

1, 2; 6, 17; 7, 13; 10, 16; 11, 6; 12, 20; 14, 23; 16, 20; 17, 16; 22, 29; 24, 27; 27, 30; 30, 29; 31, 6. 14; 37, 1; 40, 4. 27; 43, 27; 46, 16 f. 21. *Alliterative antithesis:* 3, 22; 14, 3.

13. *Libration:*

1, 6 ff.; 2, 18 f.; 4, 11 f.; 7, 11 f.; 10, 10 f. 13 f.; 11, 14 f.; 13, 9 f.; 14, 23; 16, 30; 18, 22. 28 ff.; 19, 18 ff.; 20, 31; 22, 10 f.; 25, 6; 26, 19; 27, 30 f.; 29, 11 f.; 30, 27 ff. 7 ff.; 32, 1 f.; 33, 9. 12; 40, 4; 43, 27; 46, 21.

14. *Synonymic combinations:*

2, 11; 6, 6; 9, 29; 10, 11; 10, 18; 11, 2; 12, 19; 14, 21. 24; 15, 8; 16, 20. 21; 20, 5; 21, 12; 22, 8; 24, 26; 27, 31; 29, 8. 12; 33, 12; 34, 28; 35, 10; 39, 21; 40, 11; 41, 27; 42, 8; 45, 17. 21; 46, 3.

15. *Pleonasm:*

4, 5; 18, 29; 30, 21.

16. *Specific term added to the general for the purpose of closer definition:*

2, 4; 3, 31; 4, 10; 5, 18. 30; 7, 9; 10, 6; 12, 17; 14, 28; 17, 5; 27, 30; 28, 9. 21; 29, 5. 8; 33, 12; 37, 22; 41, 22; 43, 3.

17. *Hypallage:*

27, 29, monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem; 31, 13, obligatum; see note ad loc.

18. *Climax:*

7, 1; 10, 22; 22, 6; 24, 21 f.; 44, 23.

II. BRACHYLOGY.

1. *Ellipsis of substantives:*

2, 3. 6; 3, 17. 18; 5, 18; 6, 17. 20; 8, 16. 17. 20; 9, 30; 11, 6; 12, 23. 28; 13, 7. 14. 16; 14, 27; 15, 6; 17, 11; 19, 11; 20, 26; 21, 4. 5; 22, 28; 24, 28; 25, 3. 11; 26, 13; 27, 28; 28, 19. 25; 31, 14. 17. 21;

32, 4 ; 36, 19 ; 37, 23 ; 38, 7 ; 39, 22 ; 43, 24 ; 44, 15 ; 45, 1. 16 ; 46, 6. 16. 21.

2. *Ellipsis of pronouns:*

5, 26 ; 10, 15. 20 ; 15, 12. 17 ; 19, 14 ; 23, 12 ; 26, 22 ; 28, 16 ; 33, 6. 11 ; 35, 15 ; 37, 10 ; 41, 19.

3. *Ellipsis of particles:*

4, 11 ; 5, 28 ; 6, 5. 9. 15 ; 7, 29 ; 9, 4 ; 10, 6. 23 ; 11, 15 ; 13, 14 ; 14, 12. 23 ; 15, 9 ; 16, 22 ; 17, 5. 9 ; 20, 28 ; 22, 10 ; 24. 22. 25, 6. 11 ; 27, 28. 31 ; 29, 12 ; 30, 5. 8 ; 31, 16. 25 ; 32, 1 ; 36, 21 ; 38, 9 ; 39, 19 40, 6 ; 41, 19 ; 43. 13 ; 45, 9 sed ; 5, 19 ; 16, 24 ; 27, 9, nam ; 6, 23, potius ; 29, 7, igitur. See also *Asyndeton*.

4. *Ellipsis of verbs:*

3, 1, adfirmant ; 4, 11 (see note) ; 5, 23 ; 7, 11, ducunt ; 19, 15 ; 21, 14 ; 34, 28 ; 36, 21 ; 41, 20. After *unde*, *hinc*, 9, 29 ; 40, 16. The indicative and infinitive of the *copula* are omitted more than one hundred times ; but, while the indicative is expressed about forty times, mostly unavoidably, the infinitive is used but once (45, 18). The subjunctive is omitted rarely : 9, 29 ; 13, 10 ; 17, 9 ; 18, 18 ; 19, 19 ; 39, 20 f. ; 45, 13. See *Introd. Agr.* p. xxxii. 6 b.

5. *Zeugma:*

2, 14 ; advehebantur ; 7, 14, gestant ; 37, 1, metiaris.

6. Ἀπὸ κοινοῦ :

13, 3, pars ; 18, 4, quae ; 22, 28, lavantur.

7. *Other instances of conciseness:*

10, 6 ; 20, 32 ; 22, 31 ; 24, 22 ; 28, 5. 28 ; 29, 1. 9 ; 38, 10 ; 44, 13 ; 46, 9.

III. INCONCINNITY.

1. *Concrete and abstract:*

1, 2 f. ; 7, 13 ;

2. *Singular and plural:*

2, 15, victore . . . se ipsis ; 16, 2, populatur . . . ignorantur ; 37, 9, Samnis . . . Poeni ; 39, 18, prolapsus . . . evolvuntur.

3. *Case and preposition:*

7, 4, in poenam . . . iussu; 15, 5, venatibus . . . per otium; 18, 21, libidine . . . ob nobilitatem; 29, 7, in usum . . . bellis; 32, 31, apud Chattos . . . Tencteris; 40, 26, per obsequium . . . proeliis.

4. *Change of preposition:*

13, 13, in — apud.

5. *Noun and participial or subordinate clauses:*

5, 1, nulla adfectatione etc.; 8, 16, constantia etc.; 8, 25, adulatione etc.; 27, 2, instituta etc. . . . quatenus etc.; 43, 14, lingua coarguit . . . quod.

6. *Positive and comparative or superlative:*

29, 18, levissimus quisque . . . audax; 32, 5, ferox et melior.

7. *Change of subject:*

3, 18; 5, 17; 6, 15; 14, 27; 20, 25.

8. *Reference to partial antecedent:*

2, 3, carminibus antiquis quod (sc. carmen); 8, 17, monstrata cominus captivitate quam (sc. captivitatem); 18, 3, boves . . . equus . . . arma . . . quae (sc. arma); 21, 11, inimicitias . . . amicitias . . . nec implacabiles (sc. inimicitiae); 24, 20, nudi iuvenes quibus (sc. iuvenibus); 36, 18, nimiam . . . diu pacem inlacessiti nutrierunt idque (sc. diu pacem inlacessiti nutrierunt).

IV. POETICAL AND FIGURATIVE FEATURES.

1. *Vergilian phrases:*[1]

2, 5, originem gentis conditoresque; 5, 16, satis ferax; 6, 10, missilia spargunt; 14, 22, fortia facta; 14, 29, bellatorem equum; 14, 2, vocare hostem; 15, 19, hebent; 17, 4, tegumen . . . spina consertum; 17, 11, velamina; 18, 22, nuptiis ambiuntur; 20, 13, inexhausta; 20, 1, referunt; 21, 19, monstrator; 23, 15, lac concretum; 24, 21, saltu iaciunt; 25, 10; 44, 7, regnantur; 27, 4, expediam; 30, 24, colles rarescunt; 35, 2 redit; 37, 24, triumphati; 38, 1, obliquare; 44, 15, velis ministrant; 45, 27, cadentis; 45, 1, hebetet, and the rhythmical line in ch. 39, 13.

[1] See *Introd. Agr.* p. xxv., xxxv.

2. *Ovid* is recalled by ch. 10, 19, pressos . . . curru, and *Lucan* by ch. 31, 26, exsanguis senectus and 14, 1, annum = annona.

3. *Other poetical words and phrases, apart from the poetically colored chapters noted above, are:*

4, 9, rutilae comae; 5, 16, arborum patiens; 5, 18, gloria frontis; 13, 14, rubor = rubori; 14, 2, vulnera mereri; 14, 30, cruentam victricemque frameam; 17, 16, nudae bracchia; 20, 31, iuventa; 27, 28, sepulcrum caespes erigit; 31, 15, revelant . . . pretia nascendi rettulisse; 34, 21, praetexuntur; 36, 16, pacem . . . nutrierunt; 42, 5, praecingitur; 43, 3, formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus; 45, 1, emergentis.

4. *Noteworthy personifications and metaphors:*

20, 29, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus adgnoscat; 26, 20, terrae seges imperatur; 30, 24, Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul ac deponit; 30, 29, vallare noctem; 34, 27, obstitit Oceanus in se . . . inquiri; 36, 17, marcentem diu pacem . . . nutrierunt; 37, 3, urbs nostra agebat; 44, 14, prora paratam semper adpulsui frontem agit.

5. *Ἅπαξ εἰρημένα or words of rare occurrence or employed by Tacitus in an unusual sense:*

2, 15, quaerebant, with inf.; 2, 14, evaluisse; 5, 17, improcera; 5, 27, in pretio habent; 7, 13, exigere plagas; 8, 18, impatientius; 14, 32, pro stipendio cedunt; 16, 3, fallunt = latent; 20, 30, virgines festinantur; 24, 28, iuvenior; 33, 6, occurrebant = agebant; 34, 27, obstitit with inf.; 36, 17, inlacessiti; 43, 3, feralis; 44, 24, regia utilitas = regibus utilitati; 45, 2, persuasio; 45, 10, frumenta . . . laborant; 45, 15, eiectamenta; 46, 21, inlaborare domibus.



MAP OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE AGRICOLA OF TACITUS.

P. CORNELII TACITI

DE VITA ET MORIBUS

IULII AGRICOLAE

LIBER.

Introduction.

1. Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus conmune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores, ut agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam adrogantiam arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes isdem temporibus optime aestimantur quibus facillime gignuntur. At nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis venia opus fuit, quam non petissem incusaturus tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

2. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac

foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos, quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

3. Nunc demum redit animus et quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabilis miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque cotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac votum Securitas Publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris: subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo et invìsa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus! Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

Birthplace, Parents, Early Training.

4. Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, vetere et inlustri Foroiuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater illi Iulius Graecinus, senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus, eisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gai Caesaris meritus: namque M. Silanum accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. In huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adulescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultraque quam concessum Romano [ac senatori], hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coërcuisset. Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

Military Training.

5. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil adpetere in

iactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque et anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias excitatior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus quibus sinistra erga eminentis interpretatio nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

Official Career up to the Consulship.

6. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi iunxit; idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus ac robur fuit. Vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et in vicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit quorum neutro conruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus et proconsul in omnem aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium simul et solacium; nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapienta fuit. Idem praeturae † certior et silentium; nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris medio moderationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. Tum

electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sensisset.

7. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque eius adflixit. Nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intimilium (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partis transgressus est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad dilectus agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum vicensimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio. Ita successor simul et ultor electus rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

8. Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus placidius quam feroci provincia dignum est. Temperavit Agricola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret, peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum, sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu praefecit. Nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit: ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister fortunam referebat.

Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

9. Revertentem ab legatione legionis Divus Vespasianus inter patricios adscivit; ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae imprimis dignitatis administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis iurisdictio secura et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile iusteque agebat. Iam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa: ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent, gravis intentus severus, et saepius misericors: ubi officio satis factum, nulla ultra potestatis persona; tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat. Nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre iniuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit: procul ab aemulatione adversus conlegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores et vincere inglorium et adteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur.

Haud sémper errat fáma; aliquando et élĕgit.

Consul egregiae tum spei filiam iuveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum conlocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

Geography and Ethnology of Britain.

10. Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est: ita quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur, Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur; septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. Et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama. Sed transgressis et inmensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum: et hiems adpetebat. Sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde adtolli, credo quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere: unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus adcrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

11. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint,

indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant; Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines et posita contra Hispania Hiberos veteres traiecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt; proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis usu, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit. In universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas ac superstitionum persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. Plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent, quales Galli fuerunt.

12. In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur. Honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis distrahuntur. Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentis pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusque civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Caelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod si nubes non officiant, adspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed

transire adfirmant. Scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit. Solum, praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, frugum patiens, fecundum: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt; eademque utriusque rei causa, multus umor terrarum caelique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae. Gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in Rubro Mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, conligi: ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

The Previous Attempts to conquer Britain.

13. Ipsi Britanni dilectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si iniuriae absint: has aegre tolerant, iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum Divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia et in rem publicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace: consilium id Divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit: domitae gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

14. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae, addita insuper veteranorum colonia. Quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Q. Veranius excepit, isque intra annum extinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam ut viris rebellibus ministrantem adgressus terga occasioni patefecit.

15. Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et interpretando accendere: nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. Singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. Aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subiectis exitiosam. Alterius manus centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere. Nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In proelio fortiorem esse qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, iniungi dilectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. Quantulum enim transisse militum, si sese Britanni numerent? Sic Germanias excussisse iugum: et flumine, non Oceano defendi. Sibi patriam coniuges parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse. Recessuros, ut Divus Iulius recessisset, modo virtutem

maiorum suorum aemularentur. Neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetus, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent; iam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. Porro in eius modi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam audere.

16. His atque talibus in vicem instincti, Boudicca generis regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis, nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit. tenentibus arma plerisque quos conscientia defectionis et proprius ex legato timor agitabat, ne, quamquam egregius cetera, adroganter in deditos et ut suae quisque iniuriae ultor durius consuleret. Missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere iam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civilium armorum praebuit iustam segnitiae excusationem: sed discordia laboratum, cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira indecorus atque humilis, precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem et seditio sine sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc

civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostis, similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

17. Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam reciperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus et minuta hostium spes. [et] Terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantium civitatem, quâe numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus. Multa proelia et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantium partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset: sustinuitque molem Iulius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

Agricola's Administration of Britain (78–83 A.D.).

18. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media iam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum eius alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obtriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia. Et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum incohaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant,

ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem. Caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, a cuius possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed ut in dubiis consiliis naves deerant: ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et proprius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente inmisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui navis, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

19. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si iniuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque orsus primum domum suam coërcuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve ascire, sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare. Omnia scire, non omnia exsequi. Parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec poena semper, sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse;

officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. Namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac ludere pretio cogebantur. Devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis lucrosum fieret.

20. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coërcere; loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare; et nihil interim apud hostis quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus incitamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae et tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars pariter inlacessita transierit.

21. Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. Namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnis: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam

habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. Paulatimque descensum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balineas et conviviorum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

22. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentis aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; crebrae eruptiones, nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems et sibi quisque praesidio, inritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare tum aestate atque hieme iuxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu centurio seu praefectus inconruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur, et ut erat comis bonis, ita adversus malos iniucundus. Ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium eius non timeres: honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

23. Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percurrerat insumpta; ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Namque Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per inmensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum praesidiis firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, submotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

24. Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgres-

sus ignotas ad id tempus gentis crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam adspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperii partem magnis in vicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium eius, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt [in melius]. Aditus portusque per conmercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

25. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostibus exercitus itinera timebat, portus classe exploravit; quae ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra, simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis et laetitia sua quisque facta, suos casus adtollerent, ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus militari iactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes

populi, paratu magno, maiore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam et excedendum potius quam pellerentur ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, cum interim cognoscit hostis pluribus agminibus inrupturos. Ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tris partis exercitu incessit.

26. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio universi nonam legionem, ut maxime invalidam, nocte adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus inrupere. Iamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium iubet, mox ab universis adici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. Ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. Ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientis texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

27. Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant. Atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute se, sed occasione et arte ducis victos rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus iuventutem

armarent, coniuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent. Atque ita inritatis utrimque animis discessum.

Adventure of the Usipian Cohort.

28. Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus qui ad tradendam disciplinam inmixti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tris liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno retro remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur. Mox ad aquandum atque utilia raptum egressi et cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. Atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suebis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. Ac fuere quos per commercia venumdatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus inlustravit.

Revolt of the Caledonians.

29. Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit, sed in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa classe quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Graupium pervenit,

quem iam hostis insederat. Nam Britanni nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium expectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum viris exciverant. Iamque super triginta milia armatorum adspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter pluris duces virtute et genere praestans nomine Calgacus apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

Speech of Calgacus.

30. 'Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore; nam et universi servitutis expertes et nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum, inminente nobis classe Romana. Ita proelium atque arma quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora adspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit; atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est: sed nunc terminus Britanniae patet, nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa et infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium ac modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur: si

locuples hostis est, avari; si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt. Auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem adpellant.'

31. 'Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per dilectus alibi servituri auferuntur: coniuges sororesque etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur. Bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam cotidie emit, cotidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur; neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subiectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutiùs, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem, non in paenitentiam arma laturi, primo statim congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.'

32. 'An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus

ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent: nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostis quam servos, fide et adfectu teneri putatis. Metus ac terror sunt infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos coniuges accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est. Paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantis, clausos quodam modo ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus adspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus. Adgnoscent Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem: deserent illos ceteri Germani, tam quam nuper Usipi reliquerunt. Nec quidquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentis et iniuste imperantis aegra municipia et discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate.'

Speech of Agricola.

33. Excepere orationem alacres et, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Iamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursu: simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola quamquam laetum et vix munimentis coërcitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit: 'septimus annus est, commili-

tones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera nostra Britanniam vicistis. Tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostis seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque vos ducis paenituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus: inventa Britannia et subacta. Equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesque et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam: 'quando dabitur hostis, quando † animus?' veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi, et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus atque eadem victis adversa. Nam et superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ⟨item⟩ fugientibus periculosissima quae hodie prosperrima sunt; neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut conmeatuum eadem abundantia, sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me adtinet, iam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors, turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.'

34. 'Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Hi sunt quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis adgressos clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi ideoque tam diu superstites. Quo modo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruēre, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pellebantur, sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem ceciderunt, reli-

quus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium. Quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt; novissimae res et extremus metus corpora defixere in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem, adprobate rei publicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.'

Battle at Mount Graupius.

35. Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentisque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus adfunderentur. Legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per adclive iugum conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

36. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus caetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes tris ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus

est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormis gladios gerentibus; nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fodere, et stratis qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in collis aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu conisae proximos quosque caedere: ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmae, ut fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere. Et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque † aequa nostris iam pugnae facies erat, cum † aegre clivo instantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

37. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum [vacui] spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius adcurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare. Iam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre. Passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira

virtusque. Postquam silvis adpropinquaverunt, identidem primos sequentium incautos conlecti et locorum gnari circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortis indaginis modo, et sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare iussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi in vicem longinqua atque avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. Caesa hostium ad decem milia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus, praefectus cohortis, iuvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.

38. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus: Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere, eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere in vicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi adspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari. Satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in coniuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius. Quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum (et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat), in finis Borestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit. Datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. Ipse pedites atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul

classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trucculensem portum tenuit, unde, proximo Britanniae litore lecto omni, redierat.

Recall of Agricola.

39. Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum iactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur, at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis adtolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

40. Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet addique insuper opinionem, Suriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et maioribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Suria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne adpellato quidem eo ad Domiti-

annum remeasse, sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in urbem, noctu in Palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium inmixtus est. Ceterum uti militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus hausit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso adspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

Life in Retirement. Attitude of Domitian.

41. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. Causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querella laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt rei publicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis continuarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem [et] constantiam et expertum belli animum cum inertia et formidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque auris verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et

livore pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

42. Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Africae et Asiae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne esset in provinciam ultro Agricolam interrogarent. Ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in adprobanda excusatione offerre, postremo non iam obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere ad Domitianum. Qui paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces se excusantis et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium tamen proconsulare solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum Agricolae non dedit, sive offensus non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris: Domitiani vero natura praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis escendere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

Agricola's Death (93 A.D.).

43. Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus

quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt; nec quisquam audita morte Agricolae aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus. Augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum: nobis nihil comperti, quod firmare ausim. Ceterum per omnem valetudinem eius crebrius quam ex more principatus, per nuntios visentis et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive curà illud sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente sic accelerari quae tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animi vultu[que] prae se tulit, securus iam odii et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. Satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque. Tam caeca et conrupta mens adsiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

Reflections on the Opportuneness of his Death.

44. Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule Idibus Iuniis: excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Kalendas Septembris Conlega Priscoque consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque eius posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil metus in vultu, gratia oris supererat. Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit. Opibus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae non contigerant. Quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac

triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat, filia atque uxore superstitibus? potest videri etiam beatus incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiis futura effugisse. Nam sicut ei non licuit durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras auris ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhausit.

45. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat et Massa Baebius nondum reus erat: mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et adspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Epilogue.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiaeque eius praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti auget maestitiam, quod

adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. Excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis comploratus es et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

46. Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque et domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. Admiratione potius et inmortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine te colamus: is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur, non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere finguntur, sed, ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, in fama rerum. Nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

P. CORNELII TACITI

DE GERMANIA

LIBER.

I. General Description. (Chaps. 1–27.)

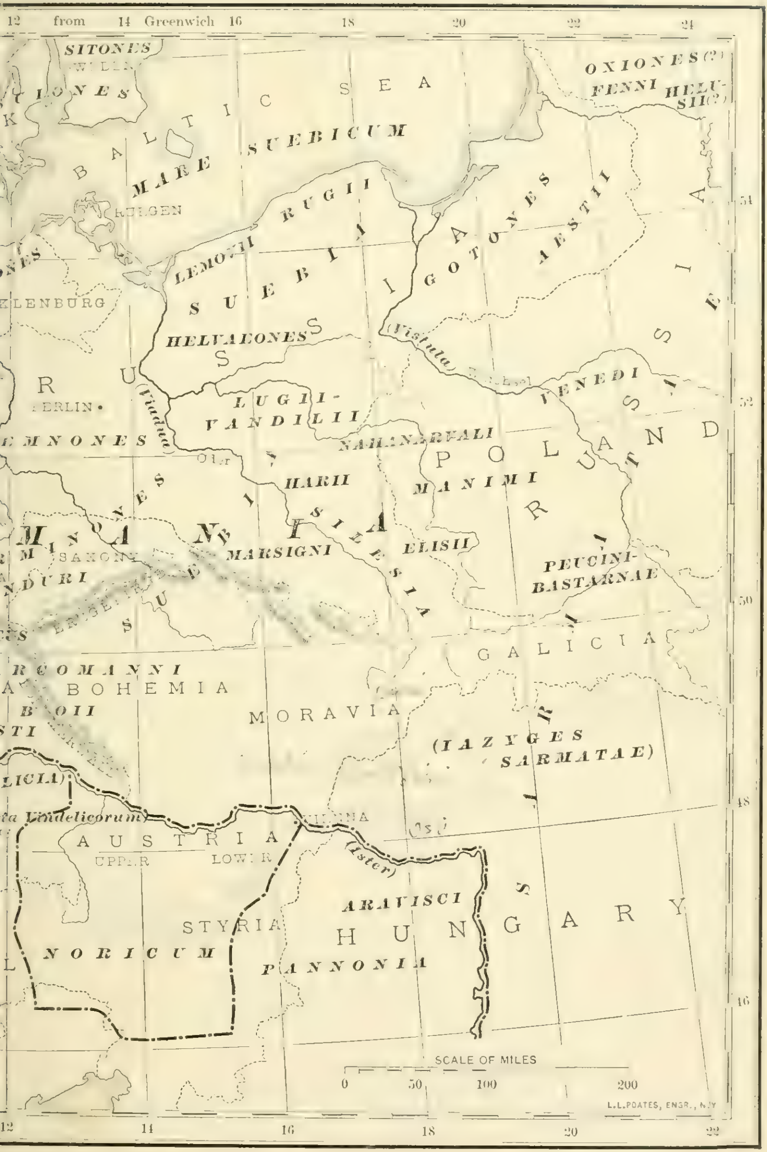
Boundaries of Germany.

1. Gĕrmānia omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pānnŏniis Rhēno et Dānŭvio fluminibus, a Sarmătis Dācisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur: cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum inmensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus, Raeticarum Alpium inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in occidentem versus septentrionali Oceano miscetur. Danuvius molli et clementer edito montis Abnŏbae iugo effusus pluris populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat: septimum os paludibus hauritur.

Ethnology.

2. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos, quia nec terra olim, sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare sedes quaerebant, et inmensus ultra utque sic dixerim adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta Germaniam peteret, informem terris,


MAP ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
GERMANIA
Modern Boundaries
Ancient "
Modern names this type PRUSSIA
Ancient " " " GERMANIA
Latin names in parentheses do not occur in the Germania
Longitude
NORTH SEA
OCEANUS
BRITANNIA
GALLIA
FRANCE
PARIS
NERVII
BELGIUM
TUNGRI
Colonia Agrippiensis
Cologne
Asciburgium
TREVERI
VANGIONES
TRIBOCI
NEMETES
LORRAINE
ALSACE
NEMORES
RHINE PROVINCE
FRISII
HOLLAND
(Flevo L.)
BATAVI
CHAMAVI
BRUCTERI
USIPII
MARSII
UBII
CHAUCI
OLDENBURG
HANOVER
ANGRIVARII
CHASUARII
DULGUBNII
CHERUSCI
CHATTI
MATTIACI
HERCYNIUS
HELVETII
Limes
WUERTEMBERG
AGRI DECUMATES
Danuvius
Rhenus
SWITZERLAND
HELVETII
St.Gotthard
Mt.Adula
RAETI
CIMBRI
EUDOSES
DENMARK
ANGLII
VARINI
AVIONES
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN
REUDIGNI
Albis
LANGOBARDI
Visurgis
Rhenus
Lippe
Ruhr
BAV
TY
MAP OF PTOLEMAEUS C. 150 A.D.
HIBERNIA
THULE
BRITANNIA
SCANDIA
Germanicus Oceanus
Tanais Fl.
EUROPA
Pontus
ASIA
AFRICA



from 14 Greenwich 16
SITONES
BALTIC SEA
MARE SUEBICUM
OXIONES (?)
FENNI
RUGII
LEMOVII
SUEBIA
HELVAECONES
GOTONES
AESTII
(Vistula)
VENEDI
(Viadua)
LUGII-VANDILII
NAHANARVALI
POLAND
RUSSIA
HARII
MANIMI
MARSIGNI
ELISII
SILESIA
PEUCINI-BASTARNAE
GALICIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
(IAZYGES SARMATAE)
AUSTRIA
LOWER
(Ister)
ARAVISCI
STYRIA
HUNGARY
NORICUM
PANNONIA
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
L.L.POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

asperam caelo, tristem cultu adspectuque, nisi si patria sit?

Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum et filium Mannum originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tris filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaevōnes, medii Herminōnes, ceteri Istaevōnes vocentur. Quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, pluris deo ortos, plurisque gentis adpellationes, Marsos Gambrīvios Sŭēbos Vandīlios adfirmant, eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper auditum, quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint [ac nunc Tŭngri], tunc Germani vocati sint: ita nationis nomen, non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox etiam a se ipsis, invento nomine, Germani vocarentur.

3. Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. Sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem barditum vocant, accendunt animos futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur; terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies, nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur. Adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. Ceterum et Ulixen quidam opinantur longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque; aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adiecto Laërtae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae

Raetiaeque adhuc extare. Quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem.

4. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem extitisse arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida: laboris atque operum non eadem patientia, minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam caelo soloque adsueverunt.

The Land and its Products.

5. Terra etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda, umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Nōricum ac Pannoniam adspicit; satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum [in] patiens, pecorum fecunda, sed plerumque improcera. Ne armentis quidem suus honor et gloria frontis: numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitiine an irati di negaverint dubito. Nec tamen adfirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere: quis enim scrutatus est? Possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo finguntur; quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae adgnoscunt atque eligunt: interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. Argentumque

magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

Warfare.

6. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum conligitur. Rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur: hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent. Et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est, pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli, atque in inmensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves. Nulla cultus iactatio; scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt. Paucis loricae, vix uni alterive cassis aut galea. Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui. Sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur: in rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita coniuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior sit. In universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris; eoque mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum quos ex omni iuventute delectos ante aciem locant. Definitur et numerus: centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, iam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. Scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire ignominioso fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

7. Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo

potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt. Ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt. Effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt; quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. Hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores: ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

8. Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatas iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et obiectu pectorum et monstrata cominus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum adspernantur aut responsa neglegunt. Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Vĕlēdam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam; sed et olim †Albrunam et compluris alias venerati sunt, non adulatione nec tamquam facerent deas.

Religious Ceremonies.

9. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. Pars Sueborum et Isidi sacrificat: unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum libur-

nicae figuratum docet advectam religionem. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora consecrant deorumque nominibus adpellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident.

10. Auspicia sortisque ut qui maxime observant: sortium consuetudo simplex. Virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. Mox, si publice consulitur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae, precatus deos caelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublatos secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. Publice aluntur isdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio maior fides, non solum apud plebem, apud proceres sed apud sacerdotes, se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorantur. Eius gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria huius vel illius pro praeiudicio accipitur.

Political Institutions.

11. De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de maioribus omnes, ita tamen, ut ea quoque quorum penes

plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Coëunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut incohatur luna aut impletur; nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. Sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul nec ut iussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coëuntium absumitur. Ut turbae placuit, considunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coërcendi ius est, imperatur. Mox rex vel principes, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam iubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu adspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt: honoratissimum adsensus genus est armis laudare.

12. Licet apud concilium accusare quoque et discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio poenarum ex delicto. Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignavos et inbelles et corpore infames caeno ac palude, iniecta insuper crate, mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. Sed et levioribus delictis pro modo poena: equorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur. Pars multae regi vel civitati, pars ipsi, qui vindicatur, vel propinquis eius exsolvitur. Eliguntur in isdem conciliis et principes qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt; centeni singulis ex plebe comites. consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.

13. Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in

ipso concilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinqui scuto frameaque iuvenem ornant: haec apud illos toga, hic primus iuventae honos; ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox rei publicae. Insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adulescentulis adsignant: certis robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis adgregantur, nec rubor inter comites adspici. Gradus quin etiam ipse comitatus habet, iudicio eius quem sectantur; magnaque et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello praesidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat; expetuntur enim legationibus et muneribus ornantur et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

14. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adaequare. Iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse: illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius adsignare praecipuum sacramentum est: principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe. Si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adulescentium petunt ultro eas nationes quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tuentur: exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam; nam epulae et, quamquam incompti, largi tamen adparatus pro stipendio cedunt. Materia munificentiae per bella

et raptus. Nec arare terram aut expectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri. Pigrum quin immo et iners videtur sudore adquirere quod possis sanguine parare.

15. Quotiens bella non ineunt, [non] multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque. Fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia; ipsi hebent, mira diversitate naturae, cum idem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis quae non modo a singulis, sed et publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque; iam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

Private Life and Customs.

16. Nullas Germanorum populis urbis habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedis. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant non in nostrum morem conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium sive inscitia aedificandi. Ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus: materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quaedam loca diligentius inlinunt terra ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam aut lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem

frigorum eius modi loci molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.

17. Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae neglegenter, ulteriores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque beluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae bracchia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.

18. Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. Nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. Intersunt parentes et propinqui ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebris quaesita nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque. In haec munera uxor accipitur atque in vicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro adfert: hoc maximum vinculum, haec arcana sacra, hos coniugales deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem

in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque: hoc iuncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant. Sic vivendum, sic pereundum: accipere se quae liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referantur.

19. Ergo saeptae pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum inlecebris, nullis conviviorum inritationibus conruptae. Litterarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis permissa: abscisis crinibus nudatam coram propinquis expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verbere agit; publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia: non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec conrumpere et conrumpi saeculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt maritum quo modo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam matrimonium, sed tamquam maritum ament. Numerum liberorum finire aut quemquam ex adgnatis necare flagitium habetur, plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.

20. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. Sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas: inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus adgnoscat. Sera iuvenum venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec virgines festinantur; eadem iuventa, similis proceritas: pares validaeque miscentur ac robora parentum liberi

referunt. Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem artioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmius et domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, quanto maior adfinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus; nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

21. Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est: nec implacabiles durant: luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem.

Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque adparatis epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt. Nec interest: pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque quantum ad ius hospitis nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris; et poscendi in vicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. [victus inter hospites comis.]

22. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupet. Lauti cibum capiunt: separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum. Crebrae, ut inter

vinolentos, rixae, raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et iungendis adfinitatibus et adsciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplicis cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia loci; ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens. Postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est: deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt, constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

23. Potui umor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus: proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera aut lac concretum: sine adparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. [Si indulseris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.]

24. Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. Nudi iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque infestas frameas saltu iaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem, non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem: quamvis audacis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium. Aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo iactu de libertate ac de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit: quamvis iuvenior, quamvis robustior adligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re prava pervicacia; ipsi fidem vocant. Servos condicionis huius per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae exsolvant.

25. Ceterum servis non in nostrum morem, descriptis

per familiam ministeriis, utuntur: suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis ut colono iniungit, et servus hactenus paret: cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coërcere rarum: occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune est. Liberti non multum supra servos sunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate, exceptis dumtaxat eis gentibus quae regnantur. Ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt: apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

26. Faenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum; ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset. Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis †in vices occupantur quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur; facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praestant. Arva per annos mutant, et superest ager. Nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent: sola terrae seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

27. Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. Struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adicitur. Sepulcrum caespes erigit: monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis adspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.

Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus: nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quaeque nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

II. Description of Particular Tribes.

a. *Western and Northwestern Tribes.* (Chaps. 28–37.)

Helvetii, Boii, Osi, Aravisci.

28. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum, Divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos: quantulum enim amnis obstabat quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hĕrcy̆niam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Hĕlvētii citeriora, ulteriora Bŏii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc Boihaemi nomen significatque loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Ōsis [Germanorum natione] an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone institutis moribus utantur, incertum est, quia pari olim inopia ac libertate eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Trēvēri et Nĕrvii circa adfectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiŏnes, Tribōci, Nĕmētes. Ne Ūbii quidem, quamquam Romana colonia esse meruerint ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam conlocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

The Batavi and Mattiaci.

29. Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Bătāvi non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne; nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus adterit; exempti oneribus et conlationibus et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio et Mattiăcorum gens; protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos imperii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et caelo acrius animantur.

Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danuviumque consederint, eos qui decumates agros exercent: levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopia audax dubiae possessionis solum occupavere; mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

The Chatti.

30. Ultra hos Chatti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu incohant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae civitates, in quas Germania patescit; durantes [si] quidem colles paulatim rarescunt et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul ac deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et maior animi vigor. Multum, ut inter Germanos, rationis ac sollertiae: praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intellegere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare

noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare, quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant: alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum. Rari excursus et fortuita pugna. Equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere: velocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.

31. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et privata cuiusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque submittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque tum demum pretia nascendi rettulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus ferunt: ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper anulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis absolvat. Plurimis Chattorum hic placet habitus, iamque canent insignes et hostibus simul suisque monstrati. Omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; haec prima semper acies, visu nova, nam ne in pace quidem cultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus aut ager aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venere, aluntur, prodigi alieni, contemptores sui, donec exsanguis senectus tam durae virtuti impares faciat.

The Usipi and Tencteri.

32. Proximi Chattis certum iam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Ūsīpi ac Tĕnctēri colunt. Tencteri super solitum bellorum decus equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt; nec maior apud Chattos peditum laus

quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere maiores: posteri imitantur. Hi lusus infantium, haec iuvenum aemulatio: perseverant senes. Inter familiam et penates et iura successionum equi traduntur: excipit filius, non ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

Bructeri.

33. Iuxta Tencteros Brūctĕri olim occurrebant: nunc Chămāvos et Angrivārios immigrasse narratur, pulsis Bructeris ac paene tum excisis vicinarum consensu nationum, seu superbiae odio seu praedae dulcedine seu favore quodam erga nos deorum; nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere. Super sexaginta milia non armis telisque Romanis, sed quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat, quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui, quando urgentibus imperii fatis nihil iam praestare fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam.

The Dulgubnii, Chasuarii, Frisii.

34. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dūlgūbnii et Chăsūarii cludunt aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae, a fronte Frīsii excipiunt. Maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. Utraeque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa temptavimus: et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem eius referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico, sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo temptavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

The Chauci.

35. Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus; in septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur. Tam inmensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit iustitia tueri. Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. Id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per iniurias adsequuntur; prompta tamen omnibus arma ac, si res poscat exercitus plurimorum virorum equorumque; et quiescentibus eadem fama.

The Cherusci and Fosi.

36. In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Chĕrūsci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem inlacessiti nutrierunt: idque iucundius quam tutius fuit, quia inter impotentes et validos falso quiescas: ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui olim boni aequique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur: Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fōsi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, cum in secundis minores fuissent.

The Cimbri. Roman Campaigns against the Germans.

37. Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens. Veterisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac

spatia quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. Sescentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma Caecilio Metello Papirio Carbone consulibus. Ex quo si ad alterum imperatoris Traiani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur: tam diu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi aevi spatio multa in vicem damna. Non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere: quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. Quid enim aliud nobis quam caedem Crassi, amisso et ipse Pacŏro, infra Ventidium deiectus Oriens obiecerit? At Germani Carbone et Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio Caepione Gnaeoque Mallio fusis vel captis quinque simul consulares exercitus populo Romano, Varum trisque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt; nec impune C. Marius in Italia, Divus Iulius in Gallia. Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt: mox ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum expugnatis legionum hibernis etiam Gallias adfectavere; ac rursus inde pulsi proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

b. *Suebic or Southeastern and Northeastern Tribes.*
(Chaps. 38–45.)

The Suebi.

38. Nunc de Suebis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve gens; maiorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune Suebi

vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere: sic Suebi a ceteris Germanis, sic Sueborum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus seu cognatione aliqua Sueborum seu, quod saepe accidit, imitatione, rarum et intra iuventae spatium, apud Suebos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retorquent, ac saepe in ipso vertice religant; principes et ornatiorem habent. Ea cura formae, sed innoxia; neque enim ut ament amenturque, in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella comptius hostium oculis ornantur.

The Semnones.

39. Vetustissimosse nobilissimosque Sueborum Sĕmnŏnes memorant; fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coëunt caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia: nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens. Si forte prolapsus est, adtolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur. Eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia. Adicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum: centum pagis habitant, magnoque corpore efficitur ut se Sueborum caput credant.

The Seven Nerthus Peoples and their Cult.

40. Contra Langŏbardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium, sed proeliis ac periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviŏnes et Anglii et Varīni et Eudŏses et Suardŏnes

et Vitŏnes fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. Nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nĕrthum, id est Terram matrem, colunt eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur. Est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contectum; adtingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intellegit vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestis et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident.

The Hermunduri.

41. Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur: propior, ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danuvium sequar, Hĕrmŭndŭrorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia. Passim sine custode transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclutum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

The Varisti, Marcomani, Quadi.

42. Iuxta Hermunduros Văristi ac deinde Marcŏmăni et Quădi agunt. Praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes pulsis olim Boiis virtute parta. Nec Varisti Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danuvio praecingitur. Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marŏbŏdui et Tŭdri genus (iam et externos patiuntur), sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. Raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur, nec minus valent.

The Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri. The Lugii.

43. Retro Marsigni, Cŏtīni, Osi, Būri terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque cludunt. E quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone cultuque Suebos referunt: Cotinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur. Partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis imponunt: Cotini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt. Omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium [iugumque] insederunt. Dirimit enim scinditque Suebiam continuum montium iugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt, ex quibus latissime patet Lūgiorum nomen in pluris civitates diffusum. Valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Harios, Hēlvaeōnas, Manimos, Elisios, Nahanarvālos. Apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. Nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur. Ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante

populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctis legunt ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum adspectum; nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.

Baltic Peoples: The Gotones, Rugii, Lemovii, Suiones.

44. Trans Lugios Gŏtōnes regnantur, paulo iam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rūgii et Lĕmŏvii. Omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.

Suiŏnum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano, praeter viros armaque classibus valent. Forma navium eo differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper adpulsui frontem agit. Nec velis ministrant nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt: solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non precario iure parendi. Nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosae porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt: enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est.

The Extreme North. The Aestii: their Amber Trade. The Sitones.

45. Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortum edurat adeo

clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper emergentis audiri formasque equorum et radios capitis adspici persuasio adicit. Illuc usque, et fama vera, tantum natura. Ergo iam dextro Suebici maris litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur quibus ritus habitusque Sueborum, lingua Brĭtannicae propior. Matrem deum venerantur. Insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant: id pro armis omniumque tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostis praestat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium sucinum, quod ipsi glaesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve; diu quin etiam inter cetera eiectamenta maris iacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. Ipsis in nullo usu: rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Sucum tamen arborum esse intellegas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque interlucent, quae implicata umore mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque et sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse crediderim quae vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. Si naturam sucini admoto igni temptes, in modum taedae accenditur alitque flammam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit.

Suionibus Sitŏnum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant. Hic Suebiae finis.

Eastern and Northern Tribes of Doubtful Germanic Origin.

46. Peucinorum Vĕnĕdorumque et Fĕnnorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam dubito, quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. Sordes omnium ac torpor procerum. Conubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur, Venedi multum ex moribus traxerunt. Nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur latrociniis pererrant. Hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt et scuta gestant et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent: quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus: solae in sagittis opes quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit; passim enim comitantur partemque praedae petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare: securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera iam fabulosa: Hellusios et †Oxiŏnas ora hominum voltusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere: quod ego ut incompertum in medium relinquam.

NOTES TO
THE AGRICOLA.

Chapter 1. 2. **usitatum**: the neuter singular of the perfect passive participle is frequently used substantively, taking the place of a relative clause. As the object and in apposition, as here, e.g. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 23, *machinas etiam, insolitum sibi, ausi.* **quamquam** with a participle, or more rarely with an adjective, occasionally occurs in earlier Latin, e.g. Cic. *de fin.* V. 23, 68; Sall. *Iug.* 43, 1; Liv. IV. 53, 1. Tacitus has more than seventy instances.

3. **suorum**: neuter. — With this often repeated sentiment, cp. *Ann.* II. 88, *dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi*; and the exx. cited, *Dial.* 15, 23; 18, 3. **aetas**: the personification, especially common with expressions denoting time, lessens the tautology occasioned by the use of *temporibus.*

4. **aliqua**: belonging to both *magna* and *nobilis*, is, according to a noteworthy usage of Tacitus, placed between the modified words. So *magis* below. See *Introd.* p. xxvi. **virtus vicit . . . vitium**: observe the alliteration, of which Tacitus makes a more extensive use than any previous prose writer. See *Introd.* p. xxviii. **supergressa est**: a post-Augustan expression, somewhat stronger than *vicit.*

5. **ignorantiam recti et invidiam**: *the inability to recognize true merit and consequent envy.* — The *et* is epexegetic, as e.g. *Dial.* 5, 26, *accinctus et minax*, where see note. In this treatise again ch. 5, 1; 6, 16; 21, 1; 30, 24; 43, 30. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxx. — With the thought, cp. *Dial.* 40, 3 and the exx. there cited.

6. **priores**: i.e. in the days of the Republic. So generally in Tacitus. See note on *vetus*, ch. 2, 6.

7. **pronum magisque in aperto**: metaphors taken from a field which lies open and offers no obstacles to advancement, i.e. those times were favorable and gave free scope to memorable achievement. Similarly ch. 33, 13, and frequently in earlier writers. — On the position of *magis*, see above, l. 4. — On the accumulation of virtually

synonymous expressions occurring with constantly decreasing frequency from the *Dialogus* to the second part of the *Annals*, see *Introd.* p. xxix. — On the brachylogy in this sentence, see *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **celeberrimus quisque ingenio** = *clarissima ingenia*. *Ingenium* is not used in the singular in a personal sense, hence *celeberrimum quodque ingenium* was impossible here. *Celeber* = *clarus* seems to occur first in *Tibull.* II. 1, 33.

8. sine gratia aut ambitione: i.e. without the desire of currying favor or from selfish motives. Our knowledge of the historians of the Republic, particularly the later annalists, does not bear out this favorable view.

9. bonae . . . conscientiae pretio: i.e. by the reward that waits on duty well performed. Cp. *Ann.* II. 22. — *pretio* = *praemio*.

10. plerique: *many*. This weakened sense is the more usual in Tacitus and in post-Augustan Latin generally. **suam ipsi**: for *suam ipsos* (= *suam ipsorum*). We should have expected *ipsos* (subj. of *narrare*) in accordance with Tacitus's custom of making *ipse*, when combined with a personal or possessive pronoun, the subj. For an instance of the usage with a finite verb, see ch. 46, 25. — Observe that two ideas here coalesce into one. (*a*) They wrote autobiographies. (*b*) They did not think it open to censure to do so. — On the conciseness of this clause, see *Introd.* p. xxxiii.

11. Rutilio et Scauro: *P. Rutilius Rufus*, born about 158 B.C., cons. 105 B.C., a distinguished orator, jurist, historian, and pupil of the Stoic Panaetius. In 93 B.C. he was accused by one Apicius of extortion. Besides his autobiography, orations, and legal publications, he composed a Roman History in Greek. He is extravagantly praised by Cicero and others. — *M. Aemilius Scaurus*, his bitter opponent, was born 162 B.C., and died about 89 B.C. His autobiography, in three books, seems to have been an *apologia pro vita sua*. — **et** for *aut*, partly because these men are closely associated as contemporaries and autobiographers, partly owing to the *aut* following. It must be observed, however, that the Latin, as well as the Greek, has a peculiar fondness for the copulative conjunction, where our idiom prefers the disjunctive particle. Cp. e.g. δύο καὶ τρεῖς (two *or* three); ch. 29, 24; *Germ.* 19, *conrumpere et conrumpi*; *Ann.* II. 10.

12. citra = *sine*. Though extremely common in post-Augustan Latin, especially in Quintilian, this usage is found in Tacitus only in the minor works. — On the collocation of a prepositional clause, and an ablative or dative, one of the noteworthy features of Tacitean

style, see *Introd.* p. xxxiv. **adeo**, etc.: the confirmation of a concrete statement by the wider generalization of an admitted truth is characteristic of Tacitus and Livy. Cp. *Dial.* 26, *adeo melius est*, etc.

14. At nunc: i.e. under the circumstances; as it is. In this non-temporal sense the adverb, as νυν in Greek, is very common. **narraturo**, etc.: to the ancients a *narratio vitae* implied a more or less *eulogistic* treatment, hence the phrase here constitutes the proper antithesis called for by *incusaturus*. **opus fuit**: similar to the epistolary perfect, the author putting himself into the place of the reader. Cp. *Ann.* III. 65, *exsequi sententias haud institui.* — The meaning of this much disputed passage appears to be this: In treating of the life of Agricola, which I do, because I believe it to be the function of the historian *ne virtutes sileantur* (*Ann.* III. 65), I had to crave an indulgence, which I should not have asked, if I had intended to impeach the age of Domitian, for *obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur* (*Hist.* I. 1).

Chapter 2. **17. Lĕgimus**: i.e. in the official *acta senatus*, so that there was no reason for doubting what might otherwise have seemed incredible. **Aruleno Rustico**: *L. Iunius Rusticus Arulenus*, a distinguished Stoic of the time of Nero, was executed by Domitian in 94 A.D. for writing the biography here mentioned, in which he spoke of Thrasea and Helvidius as *sanctissimi viri.* — The transposition of the cognomen, still rare in pre-Augustan Latin, is particularly frequent in Tacitus. See note *Dial.* 1, 1. In the *Agricola* again, immediately below, *Paetus Thrasea*, *Priscus Helvidius.* — The so-called subjective dative for the abl. with the preposition occurs some thirty times in Tacitus. So *Herennio Senecioni.* **Paetus Thrasea**: *P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus*, also a Stoic. As the outspoken leader of the opposition he incurred the displeasure of Nero, and was finally driven to suicide by a trumped-up charge of treason in 66 A.D. Cp. *Ann.* XVI. 21 ff.

18. Herennio Senecioni: an intimate friend of the younger Pliny, who was associated with him in the trial of Baebius Massa, probably shortly after Agricola's death in 93. He was subsequently denounced by the notorious informer, Mettius Carus (see ch. 45, 15), for writing the life of Helvidius, and was executed; but his work was rescued from the flames (to which it had been consigned by a decree of the senate) by Fannia, the wife of Helvidius, who concealed a copy. **Priscus Helvidius**: *Helvidius Priscus*, banished after the death of Thrasea, his father-in-law, was recalled by Galba. Praetor

70 a.d. Later he incurred the displeasure of Vespasian by his uncompromising opposition and was finally executed in 73 a.d.

20. saevitum: sc. *esse*. **triumviris**: sc. *capitalibus*, the official executioners. The delegation of the duty of burning condemned books to these functionaries instead of to the aediles was intended as an additional degradation. — The earliest recorded instance of this practice is the burning of the alleged books of Numa in 181 b.c. During the empire such penalties were not uncommon. The biographies mentioned by Tacitus were the last so dealt with, the inefficacy of the proceeding having gradually become apparent.

21. comitio ac foro: the *comitium* was situated north of the *forum* and was the usual place for punishments. The apparently pleonastic *foro* is added to emphasize the publicity of the transaction. So Plin. *N. H.* XV. 18, 20, 77. It corresponds to *in conspectu populi* of Liv. XL. 29, 14, *libri in comitio . . . in c. p. cremati sunt.*

Page 2. **2. conscientiam**: Domitian in his shortsightedness imagined he could prevent men from retaining a vivid knowledge of these events. Cp. Tac. *Ann.* IV. 35, *praesenti potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam.*

3. expulsis sapientiae professoribus: this took place in 93 a.d. — *sapientiae*, for *philosophiae*. Tacitus whimsically avoids, as far as possible, Greek expressions. So likewise, e.g. *philosophi* and *poeta*. — *professor* is a post-Augustan word. — Tacitus is fond of closing a period with an ablative absolute. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxvii., and on the chiasmus, ibid. p. xxviii.

4. atque is epexegetic of the preceding clause, i.e. *and by so doing he banished every worthy accomplishment.* This high praise of philosophy does not represent T's personal convictions, for it strangely contrasts with ch. 4, 15 ff. (where see note). It seems here to be due to a desire to stigmatize an act of Domitian at any price, for Vespasian, styled by Tacitus *patientissimus veri*, had previously issued a similar decree.

5. Dedimus profecto: the asseverative particle is generally omitted in Tacitus, when the verb is placed at the beginning. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxvi.

6. vetus aetas: i.e. the Republican period. This use of *vetus* is characteristic of Tacitus.

7. nos: sc. *vidimus.* So *ultimum* after *quid*, and *esset* after *servitute* are supplied from the preceding by an easy ellipsis.

8. adempto . . . conmercio refers to the nefarious practice of informers, so frequently denounced by Tacitus, e.g. *Ann.* IV. 30, *delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum.*

Chapter 3. **12. et quamquam** = *quamquam autem.* So ch. 36, 11. — *quamquam* with the subjunctive occurs sixty times in Tacitus, to twenty instances with the indicative.

13. primo statim . . . ortu: *at the very beginning of the dawn. Primo statim* occurs repeatedly in Tacitus. For the extremely common pleonasm with words denoting a beginning, see note *Dial.* 11, 18. **Nerva Caesar**: The references to Trajan, below and 44, 6, imply the death of Nerva (Jan. 27, 98 A.D.). *Divus* was probably omitted, because the official consecration had not yet taken place.

14. dissociabiles = *insociabiles* (Tac. *Ann.* IV. 12; XIII. 17) *incompatible;* in this sense only here and Claud. in *Ruf.* II. 238. The same negatival force of the prefix is found, e.g., in *dissimilis, displicere.* **principatum ac libertatem**: the antithesis seems to have been a commonplace. Cp. Plut. *Galba*, 6, and Tac. *Hist.* IV. 64, *haud facile libertas et domini miscentur.* The word *libertas* appears on inscriptions in reference to the accession of Nerva.

16. Securitas Publica like our *Commonwealth*, is frequently personified, especially on coins. *Vota* were vows and prayers offered up for the continued welfare of the state on the occasion of the accession of a new emperor. So recorded e.g. in the case of Trajan, Jan 3, 98 A.D. — Some verb like *conceperit* must be supplied by zeugma from *adsumpserit.* For other instances of zeugma, see *Introd.* p. xxxii.

17. fiduciam ac robur: *strong assurance of the realization of the prayer.* Hendiadys, although the two nouns were primarily used for the sake of symmetry with *spem ac votum.*

19. lente . . . extinguuntur: an asyndetic antithesis, the adversative particle being, for the sake of conciseness, generally omitted. So e.g. ch. 12, 5, *tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt.* — On the brachylogy see *Introd.* p. xxxiii. With the thought cp. Lucret. I. 556.

20. subit: sc. *animum.* Apparently not elsewhere used absolutely in this sense. **quippe** = *enim*, so very frequent in Tacitus, but in anastrophe only here and in the *Annals.*

22. Quid? si usually introduces a concrete illustration of a general proposition. Cp. *Dial.* 20, 10. **per quindecim annos**: i.e. the reign of Domitian (81–96).

23. grande . . . spatium: so styled, because of the crushing effect

upon those who lived through these dreadful times. **multi . . . promptissimus quisque . . . pauci**: notice the asyndeton. **fortuitis casibus**: *owing to natural causes.* Cp. *Ann.* XII. 52, *morte fortuita an per venenum extinctus.* Tacitus means to say that during the reign of terror most of the illustrious men capable of telling its story had died a natural or violent death, while the few that survived were too crushed in spirit and unlike their real selves to undertake the task.

24. **promptissimus quisque**: the plural verb after *quisque*, with or without the superlative, is found in all periods of the language, but is comparatively rare in classical prose, except in Livy.

25. **ut ita dixerim**: like its equivalent *ut sic dixerim* (e.g. *Dial.* 34, 23), is a post-Augustan phrase for *ut ita dicam.* — The so-called logical perfect subjunctive in subordinate clauses is very rare. — The expression is here used to apologize for the seeming paradox in *nostri superstites.*

26. **exemptis e media vita tot annis**: elsewhere in Tacitus *eximere* invariably takes the dative. — *media vita* is an elastic term. Thus in ch. 44, 26, it is applied to Agricola, at the age of 54. According to a belief common among the Romans, 120 years constituted the extreme natural limit of human life. Tacitus himself was about 26 years old on the accession of Domitian (81 A.D.), and therefore but 41 at Domitian's death. *Senectus* usually began at the age of 60.

27. **ipsos exactae aetatis terminos**: *to the very limits of extreme old age.* Such fullness of expression, still frequent in the minor writings of Tacitus, gradually disappears in the later works.

28. **per silentium**: i.e. in *compulsory* silence, because of the danger to which an honest historian or biographer would have exposed himself. **non tamen**: in spite of the terrible ordeal through which we passed.

29. **pigebit . . . composuisse**: the perfect infinitive refers to the time when the implied action is completed. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* VII. 233, *nec . . . excepisse pigebit.* **vel incondita ac rudi voce**: these terms are habitually used of an archaic and inartistic diction, but as the Histories here alluded to — they were not completed till 109 — are written in a style of consummate art, these epithets must not be taken too seriously. Similar apologetic or mock-modest expressions occur elsewhere, e.g. Cic. *Orat.* 69, 230 (concerning Antipater's introduction to his Punic War); Stat. *Silv.* I. praef.; Apul. *Met.* Introd.; Fronto, p. 242; Aelian, *Nat. Hist.* IV. 1 ff.; Liban. I. 276 f.

30. testimonium: *memoria* could not have been used with *praesentium bonorum*, because the still uncompleted reign of Trajan was included among these. But, when the *Historiae* had been published, their author had decided to reserve the record of Nerva's and Trajan's beneficent rule for an independent work, a plan either abandoned or frustrated by his death. Cp. *Hist.* I. 1, *quod si vita suppeditet, principatum Nervae et imperium Traiani . . . senectuti seposui.*

31. interim: i.e. pending the conclusion of my larger and strictly historical narrative.

32. laudatus erit aut excusatus: cp. *Dial.* ch. 10, 7, *probata sit fides et libertas excusata.* — The fut. perf. with reference to the reader's completed perusal of the biography. Cp. note ch. 1, 14, *opus fuit.*

Page 3. Chapter 4. **1. Gnaeus Iulius Agricola**: this is the only certain instance in Tacitus in which the *tria nomina Romanorum* occur. They are designed to give to the beginning of the biography proper a special solemnity. **Foroiuliensium colonia**: a town in Gallia Narbonensis, on the Mediterranean, founded by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C.; during the early empire it was a naval station of some importance. It is the modern Fréjus, situated 45 miles northeast of Toulon.

2. procuratorem Caesarum: the procurators were officers in the imperial household, appointed by, and solely responsible to, the emperor. These positions were originally held by freedmen and equites alike, but as the administrative functions of the emperor extended, the higher and more responsible procuratorships were given only to knights, who were then generally distinguished from the minor 'procuratores' as *procuratores Augusti*. *Caesarum* happens to be found only here, but *Caesaris* may have been equally official, the plural being used doubtless because the grandfathers referred to served separately under Augustus and Tiberius, or under both. But cp. *Dial.* ch. 7, 7, *procuratores principum.*

3. quae: by attraction for *quod.* Cp. ch. 7, 8; *Germ.* 5, 18. **equestris nobilitas**: these offices had become one of the marks of an equestrian career, for men of senatorial rank were debarred from holding a procuratorship. The expression itself, in place of *ordo equestris*, seems not to occur elsewhere, and is here used in the same technical sense which Tacitus repeatedly gives to *equites inlustres* or *insignes*, namely, knights occupying high positions. The exact equivalent, *equites nobiles*, is also found, e.g. Liv. XXIII. 46, 12.

4. **Iulius Graecinus**: highly extolled by Sen. *de ben.* II. 21, 5, *si exemplo magni animi opus est, utamur Graecini Iulii, viri egregii quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc unum quod melior vir erat quam esse quemquam tyranno expedit.* He seems to have reached the praetorship. In all probability he was descended from some Greek family in Marseilles, where Agricola was educated, and he may have been the son of Graecinus, the friend of Ovid. **senatorii ordinis**: sc. *vir*. One of the many instances of the absolute use of the genitive of quality. So below, l. 8, *rarae castitatis* (sc. *mulier*). **studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus**: *known for his literary and philosophical pursuits.* This wider meaning of *eloquentia* is not rare in post-Augustan Latin. — *sapientiae* = *philosophiae.* See note ch. 2, 3. — This predilection the son inherited. See below, l. 15 f.

6. **meritus** = *consecutus*, though extremely common elsewhere in Tacitus, is here rather used in an ironical sense; cp. Eng. *earn.* **M. Silanum**: *M. Iunius Silanus*, the father-in-law of Caligula, consul suffectus, 15 A.D., was driven to suicide 38 A.D. He is repeatedly mentioned by Tacitus.

7. **Iulia Procilla**: perhaps a descendant of C. Valerius Procillus, styled by Caes. *B. G.* I. 19, 3, *princeps* of Gaul.

8. **fuit**: In Tacitus phrases denoting descent do not omit the copula, unless a dative is expressed. So e.g. above, *pater illi.* **sinu indulgentiaque**: *loving care.* Hendiadys. *Indulgentia* is often used in a good sense. — With the thought, cp. note to *Dial.* 30, 20.

9. **omnem honestarum artium cultum** = *omnium h. a. c.*, by hypallage. — *honestae artes* for the more usual *liberales artes.*

10. **Arcebat**: on the emphatic position of the predicate, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. The subject is the following *quod* clause.

11. **peccantium** = *vitii.* The use of the participle for an *abstract* substantive is a Graecism, still rare in pre-Augustan Latin, but extremely frequent in later writers. In this treatise again, ch. 5, 6, *reciperatae;* 32, 21, *servientium.* **praeter**: *not to mention.* — With the phrase, cp. *Dial.* 28, 5.

12. **sedem ac magistram**: Tacitus is fond of joining a concrete and an abstract noun. See *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

13. **Massilia**, the modern Marseilles, was celebrated as early as Cicero's time as an educational centre, almost rivalling Athens. **locum . . . compositum** = *locum in quo Graeca comitas et provincialis parsimonia mixta ac bene composita erant.* **provinciali parsimonia**: the contrast between the greater moral purity of the

provinces and the degenerated society of Rome is often emphasized by Tacitus. Cp. note *Dial.* 28, 13.

16. philosophiae: this word (like *philosophus*) is rarely used by Tacitus. See note ch. 2, 3. — The apathetic and, at times, hostile attitude of the Romans toward the study of philosophy is well attested. See note to *Dial.* 19, 7, and especially Suet. *Nero* 52.

17. (studium) hausisse = (*studio*) *se dedisse*. The infinitive represents *hauriebat* in direct discourse; *hausturum fuisse* must be supplied in thought as the apodosis to *ni . . . coercuisset.* So ch. 13, 23, *agitasse satis constat.* See *Introd.* p. xxxii. Translate: *He was on the point of devoting himself to . . . and he would have done so, had not*, etc. **incensum ac flagrantem**: sc. *studio philosophiae.* — *Incensus*, in its metaphorical sense, is extremely rare; *flagrans* exceedingly common. — Observe the accumulation of synonyms in this closing paragraph. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxix.

18. sublime et erectum: the same collocation occurs in *Quint.* XI. 1, 16, and similarly Cic. *Tusc.* V. 14, 42, *celsus et erectus.*

19. pulchritudinem ac speciem: *beautiful ideal.* Hendiadys.

20. caute: we should expect the comparative, but a similar instance of inconcinnity is met with in Tac. *Hist.* I. 83, *acrius quam considerate.* Cp. also *Ann.* IV. 61, *Agrippina claris maioribus quam vetustis*, where *clarioribus* and *vetustioribus* were avoided for euphonic reasons. — That the caution was necessary is evident from the punishment which some emperors inflicted upon philosophers. See note ch. 2, 3.

21. ratio et aetas: *prudence that comes with age.* On the epexegetic *et*, see *Introd.* p. xxx. The singular predicate with two abstract nouns joined by *et* is the rule in Tacitus. Where the verb in the singular precedes it may be supposed to agree with the nearer subject. When the subjects are joined with *ac* or *atque*, we find the plural, as in ch. 42, 25, exceptions being very rare. See also *Dial.* 5, 18. **retinuitque**: *and in consequence he retained.* This usage of *-que* is extremely frequent in Tacitus. — Observe the harsh change of subject.

22. ex sapientia: *the study of philosophy.* **modum**: *moderation.* — Tacitus constantly emphasizes this quality as the cardinal virtue of his hero, and the rhetoricians speak of it as an essential element of characterization in *encomia.* See *Introd.* p. xii. note 2.

Chapter 5. **23. Suetonio Paulino**: a distinguished general, legatus pro praetore in Mauretania, in 41–42 A.D., in which latter year

he was probably consul suffectus. From 59–61 he was legatus in Britain. Consul in 66 and in 69, he led the Othonian forces against Vitellius, who subsequently pardoned him.

24. **diligenti ac moderato**: cp. *Hist.* II. 25, *cunctator natura et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placerent.* **adprobavit**: i.e. he served his military apprenticeship so as to win the approval of his chief. On the conciseness of expression, see *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **electus**: in place of the participle, we should expect a finite verb, as the approbation cannot have *followed* the selection. For an analogous elimination of the temporal force of the perfect participle, see note ch. 29, 21, *ictus . . . amisit.*

25. **contubernio aestimaret**: i.e. having been selected by Paulinus to test his worth by tenting with him. — *contubernio* is an instrumental ablative, as in Hor. *Epist.* II. 1, 48, *virtutem aestimat annis.* **Nec** = *et neque.* **licenter . . . segniter**, etc.: i.e. neither licentiously, etc., nor owing to slothfulness did he take advantage of his titular tribuneship, etc., to secure through furloughs opportunities for enjoyment. The *et* after *voluptates* is epexegetic. See *Introd.* p. xxx.

28. **noscere . . . nosci**, etc.: Tacitus repeatedly joins the active and passive of the same verb, e.g. *Germ.* 19, *corrumpere et corrumpi.* — Observe the skilful balancing of clauses and the accumulation of seven historical infinitives. In ch. 19, 29 ff. we have eight, in ch. 38, 15 ff. ten. This number is rarely exceeded. **exercitui**: on the subjective dative, see note, ch. 2, 17.

29. **in iactationem**: *in* final is perhaps more common in Tacitus than in any other writer. — On the chiasmus, see *Introd.* p. xxviii.

Page 4. 2. **anxius**: *cautiously.* In this sense the word is ἅπαξ εἰρημένον. Agricola never underestimated the strength of the enemy, an attitude which he owed to the training of Paulinus. See note ch. 5, 24. — On the adj. = adv., see *Dial.* 4, 16. **excitatior**: *more agitated.*

4. **coloniae**: there was only one colony, *Camulodunum*, the modern Colchester. The poetical plural is here used, as in 21, 27, *templa*, for the sake of symmetry with the other substantives. The same applies to *intercepti exercitus*, the allusion being apparently to the defeat of the ninth legion. — On the force of the asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxvii. **tum de salute**, etc.: the antithesis seems to have been a commonplace. Cp. 26, 18; Caes. *B. C.* III, 5; Plut. *Caes.* 56.

6. **alterius**, for *alīus*, which is practically unknown in Latin. **summa rerum**: *the successful issue of the campaign, namely, the restoration of the province, was attributed to the commander-in-chief.* The *et* adds a more specific to a general statement, according to a stylistic usage characteristic of Tacitus. See *Introd.* p. xxx.

7. **artem et usum**: *theoretical knowledge and practical experience.*

8. **stimulos addidere**: a poetic phrase, found in Lucan I. 263, the metaphor being very common. The polysyndeton emphasizes each element in the enumeration; see *Introd.* p. xxvii. **intravitque**: *and there entered.* See *Introd.* p. xxvi.

9. **cupido**: this shorter form for *cupiditas* is found only here in the smaller works, becomes increasingly frequent in the *Histories*, and has completely ousted its competitor in the *Annals*. See note to *Dial.* 2, 9. **temporibus**: ablative. **erga** = *adversus* is in this hostile sense quite common in Tacitus, rare elsewhere, though occurring as early as Plautus, e.g. *Cas.* 618; *Pseud.* 1020.

10. **ex magna . . . ex mala**: such alliterative antitheses are peculiarly Tacitean. See *Introd.* p. xxviii. — In adversative clauses, especially with *quam*, the preposition is generally repeated.

Chapter 6. 12. **digressus**: in 61 A.D., the marriage probably taking place the year after.

13. **splendidis**: often used of illustrious birth. **natalibus**: a post-Augustan expression for *origo*, *genus*, or *maiores*, first found in Seneca Rhetor.

14. **decus ac robur fuit**: the nominative in place of the dative in these and like phrases is poetic. In prose first in Liv. XL. 27, 10, and Val. Max. IV. 4, 5. In Tacitus, e.g. *Germ.* 13, 7. — For the singular predicate, see note ch. 4, 21. — *decus*, because of her high social position: *robur*, because of the political advantages given to a man with a family by the lex Papia Poppaea. Thus, a son having been born to Agricola in 63/64, he was enabled to stand for the quaestorship one year before the legal age, he being then but 24 years old. A deduction of one year was granted for each and every child.

16. **in vicem se anteponendo**: *each regarding the other as superior.* An instrumental ablative added to the *per* clause (see *Introd.* p. xxxiv.), for the sake of closer definition, the *et* being epexegetic (see *Introd.* p. xxx.). *In vicem*, for the classical *inter se*, is generally used without *se*. So in Tacitus, except *Dial.* 25, 3 and here. **nisi quod**: introduces a qualification or restriction. There ought to have been no

such rivalry, for a good wife fulfills her one supreme mission in life by being such, whereas a man's sphere of noble achievement is not restricted to the home circle. Tacitus doubtless intended this as a gallant compliment to his mother-in-law, who may well have still been living when this biography was published.

18. Salvium Titianum: *L. Salvius Otho Titianus*, brother of Otho, the future emperor, was consul in 52 and again in 69, proconsul in 63/64. After the death of Otho, he was pardoned *pietate et ignavia* (*Hist.* II. 60).

19. dedit: sc. *ei*. The ellipsis of the demonstrative pronoun is particularly common in Tacitus. *Introd.* p. xxxi. **neutro** = *neutra re*. So *Ann.* III. 15, *nullo*. A usage especially frequent in post-Augustan Latin. See *Dial.* 19, 8, *omnibus*.

20. parata peccantibus: a province was often regarded as a legitimate field for extortion and personal aggrandizement. To have resisted so strong a temptation was, therefore, a special proof of Agricola's integrity. The praise here accorded to Agricola is, however, somewhat inconsistent with ch. 9, 17 f. — *Esset* must be supplied after *parata*. On this ellipsis, see *Introd.* p. xxxii. **proconsul . . . mali**: Tacitus has here, in order to emphasize the honesty of his hero, been guilty of a slight *suppressio veri*, for Agricola served the greater part of his quaestorship under *L. Antistius Vetus*, proconsul of Asia for 64/65, a lofty character, as appears from Tacitus himself, in *Ann.* XVI. 10 f.

22. mutuam dissimulationem mali: the proconsul was willing to connive at any rascality on the part of his subordinate, provided the latter would, in turn, promise to be blind to his misdeeds. **auctus est**: i.e. his family was increased by the birth of a daughter. The word is used in this sense by Cic. *ad Att.* I. 2, 1, and again by Tac. *Ann.* II. 84. This daughter subsequently became the wife of Tacitus. See ch. 9, 28.

23. in subsidium simul et solacium: *subsidium*, because of the reasons given in note to l. 16. — On the alliteration, see *Introd.* p. xxviii. and on the position of *simul*, cp. *Introd.* p. xxviii.

24. inter quaesturam, etc. : i.e. *annum inter quaesturam*, etc., the incongruity being due to the author's desire to avoid the awkward repetition of *annus*. It seems that in the regular *cursus honorum* an interval of one year was required between each of the offices here mentioned. The tribuneship of Agricola would, therefore, fall in the year 66 and the praetorship in 68, the year of Nero's death.

26. quiete et otio: on this and a similar often recurring group of synonyms, see ch. 21, 26; 40, 9; 42, 9, and note *Dial.* 39, 28. **gnarus**: to be joined to *temporum.*

27. inertia pro sapientia: with the thought, cp. *Hist.* I. 49, *sed claritas natalium . . . obtentui, ut, quod segnitia erat, sapientia vocaretur.* In Agricola, however, the conditions were reversed. **idem . . . silentium**: the meaning of this statement, though corrupted in the Mss., is clear. Agricola's praetorship passed without any features worthy of record. The *et* is epexegetic.

28. iurisdictio: during the Empire, the number of praetors occasionally rose as high as eighteen, but only the *praetor urbanus* and *praetor peregrinus* possessed ex officio civil jurisdiction. The absence of these judicial functions, therefore, still further accounts for the inconspicuous character of Agricola's incumbency of the office. **ludos . . . duxit**: a Tacitean coinage modeled upon *pompam* (*funus*) *ducere*, and employed to avoid the stereotyped phrase *ludos facere.* This tendency to discard the trite and commonplace is one of the most significant features of Tacitean style. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxv.

29. inania honoris: with *inania* supply *cetera*, for the *ludi* are included among these. Translate: *and what other empty pageantry of the office there was.* **medio moderationis**: i.e. these games he conducted on a scale midway between economy and extravagance. — The genitive with *medius* is chiefly poetic. In Tacitus again, *Ann.* I. 64, *medio montium et paludum.*

30. uti . . . ita = *quamquam — tamen.* This adversative use of *ut — ita* is especially frequent in Livy and Tacitus. **famae propior**: i.e. he came nearer to acquiring distinction in this matter than one would have expected, because reckless extravagance in furnishing amusement to the people was the time-honored method of gaining popularity. The statement furnishes a good illustration of Tacitus's skill in turning to his hero's credit what was at best an indifferent performance.

Page 5. **1. dona**, etc.: probably this refers to temple property carried away by private individuals during the great fire under Nero, who had himself replenished his own losses by depleting the temples throughout the empire of their art treasures. These latter were now beyond restitution, but the others were collected with such success that the commonwealth no more felt their absence than if they had never been removed. This idea is implied in the pluperfect. For a

similar instance, see Plin. *Pan.* 40, *effecisti* (viz. Trajan) *ne malos principes habuissemus* (i.e. made us forget by your beneficent rule that we ever had despotic emperors in the past).

Chapter 7. **4. Sequens annus**: i.e. 69 A.D. — On the personification see note ch. 1, 2.

6. Intimilium: the modern *Vintimiglia*, 12 miles east of Monaco. **hostiliter populatur**: only apparently pleonastic, the adverb being added, because it was a *Roman* fleet devastating *Roman* territory.

10. adfectati . . . imperii: *had designs upon the throne*, implying, however, that these were on the point of realization. —Vespasian's imperium dates from July 1 (or 3), 69 A.D., when the legions of Alexandria and Judaea swore allegiance to him. **deprehensus**: *was surprised by the news*. The verb often implies surprise.

12. iuvene admodum Domitiano: he was then eighteen years of age. On his character, cp. *Hist.* IV. 2, *Nomen sedemque Caesaris Domitianus acceperat, nondum ad curas intentus, sed stupris et adulteriis filium principis agebat*, and Suet. *Domit.* 1.

13. fortuna: *imperial rank*. So repeatedly used and of Vespasian in particular. Cp. ch. 13, 29.

14. dilectus: in Italy, in 70 A.D.

15. vicensimae legioni: also known as the *Valeria Victrix*, stationed at Deva, the modern Chester. At the same time, there were in Britain three other legions, the *Second Augusta*, the *Ninth Hispana*, and the *Fourteenth Gemina Valeria Victrix*, replaced by the *Second Adiutrix*, by 70 A.D. They had their headquarters at Caerleon (in Wales), York, and Lincoln, respectively.

16. ubi: either *in Britain*, to be understood from the context, or = *apud quam legionem*. The former is preferable. **decessor**: viz. Roscius Caelius, as we learn from *Hist.* I. 60, where he is charged by the legate Trebellius Maximus with being responsible for insubordination and incapacity. In the present passage the accusation of treason is mentioned independently, because, unlike the other charge, it lacked substantiation (*narrabatur*). Tacitus was not over friendly to Trebellius.

17. legatis quoque consularibus: viz. Trebellius and Bolanus. — We should expect the *quoque* to go with the adjective, by way of contrast with *praetorius*, but similar incongruities occur occasionally in Tacitus and elsewhere, e.g. *Dial.* 36, 25 (with note); 17, 9, *a divo quoque Augusto*, where, however, the epithet may be taken as a proper

name. **nimia**: like our colloquial *too much for*. The phrase is post-Augustan. Cp. Vell. Pat. II. 32, 1, *Pompeium . . . nimium iam liberae rei publicae*; and Tac. *Hist.* III. 52; *Ann.* II. 34.

19. **potens ad**: elsewhere in Tacitus construed with the genitive. With *ad* e.g. Ovid, *Her.* V. 147. **incertum an**: a favorite elliptical phrase in Tacitus. Cp. e.g. *Ann.* I. 11. It was uncertain whether Roscius Caelius was incapable of maintaining discipline, or whether, owing to the turbulent character of this legion, he was deterred from attempting it. **ita** = *itaque*, extraordinarily frequent in Tacitus, *itaque* occurring only in *three* passages of the *Dialogus*.

Chapter 8. 22. **Vettius Bolanus**: legatus of a legion under Corbulo, consul suffectus in 67/68 A.D., sent by Vitellius as the successor of Trebellius Maximus as governor of Britain, 69–70 A.D., and proconsul of Asia Minor in the reign of Vespasian.

23. **dignum**: *deserves.* — Tacitus elsewhere omits the copula with *dignus* and *indignus*. **Temperavit**: placed (like *praeerat* above and *habuerant* below) at the beginning of the sentence for the sake of emphasis. See *Introd.* p. xxvi. Observe the chiasmus.

24. **incresceret**: sc. *Agricola.*

25. **peritus obsequi**: so Verg. *Buc.* 10, 32, and Persius, 2, 34. In Tacitus only here and *Ann.* XI. 29. **utilia honestis miscere**: cp. Hor. *A. P.* 343, *miscuit utile dulci.* — On the simple verb for the compound (*admiscere*), cp. ch. 10, 15.

26. **Brevi deinde** = *paulo post*, is rare, e.g. Liv. XXIV. 4, 9. **consularem**: sc. *legatum.* Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi. **Petilius Cerialis**: *Q. Petilius Cerialis Caesius Rufus*, commander of the IX. legion, which was routed by the Britains under Boudicca, in 61 A.D. Having espoused the cause of Vespasian, his relative, he was consul suffectus in 70 and 74. He was sent by Mucianus to Germany, where he put down the formidable uprising of Civilis, in 70 A.D.

27. **virtutes**, etc.: *his great ability had free scope for noteworthy achievements.* Cp. *Ann.* XIII. 8, *locus virtutibus patefactus.*

28. **et** = *etiam*, occurs in Tacitus more than 150 times. Indisputable instances in Cicero, Caesar, and in pre-Augustan writers generally are extremely rare, but from Livy on this usage becomes increasingly frequent.

30. **ex eventu**: *owing to his success*; *eventus*, a so-called *vocabulum medium*, may designate either a good or a bad *outcome.*

31. **gestis** = *rebus gestis*; rare in Tacitus, as in other writers.

32. ad auctorem: On the adversative asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxviii. With the statement, cp. *Germ.* 14, 22.

Page 6. **1. virtute**, etc.: observe the careful balancing of clauses. — On the alliterative antithesis and the repetition of the preposition, see note ch. 5, 10, and *Introd.* pp. xxvii., xxviii.

2. nec = *nec tamen*, *nor for all that.* So frequently, e.g. ch. 19, 31; *Germ.* 42, 10. **extra** = *sine*, *free from.* So Tac. *Hist.* I. 49.

Chapter 9. **3. revertentem**: *immediately on his return*, i.e. in 74 A.D., probably in company with the retiring legate, Petilius Cerialis. — For the force of the present participle we may compare ch. 18, 15, *ingredienti*; 28, 9, *retro remigante.*

4. inter patricios adscivit: this was done originally by Caesar and Augustus for the purpose of replenishing the decimated ranks of the patriciate, subsequently by way of compliment to illustrious men, the selection of non-Italians probably not antedating the reign of Claudius.

5. Aquitaniae praeposuit: the government of this most important praetorian province seems to have been a direct stepping-stone to the consulship. So e.g. in the case of Galba, Julius Julianus, and others. **splendidae . . . dignitatis**: sc. *provincia.* On this elliptical genitive of quality, see note ch. 4, 4.

6. administratione ac spe: *by virtue of its administrative functions and the hope it held out for.* **destinarat**: sc. *eum.* On the ellipsis of the demonstrative pronoun, see *Introd.* p. xxxi. **credunt plerique**: *it is a very common belief.* On the position of the predicate, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

7. subtilitatem: *acumen*, i.e. a legal mind trained to weigh testimony, fluency of exposition being also implied. Cp. Liv. II. 56, 8.

8. secura: *easy-going*, because not subject to appeal, opposed to *gravis*, *thoughtful*, *concerned*, owing to a feeling of responsibility. **obtusior**: *rather blunt*, *curt.*

9. manu agens: *high-handed*, *summary.* **non exerceat**: *has no practice in*, *does not make use of*, as forensic subtlety is not acquired in the school-room, but by actual experience in the law-courts.

10. prudentia: best taken as ablative of cause, — *by reason of his good sense.* **togatos**: *civilians*, opposed to *milites.* In pre-Augustan and Augustan Latin the word is generally contrasted either

with soldiers or foreigners; later authors use it in the sense of clients, or of the upper classes, as distinguished from the *tunicati* (= *plebs*).

11. facile agebat: sc. *res iudiciales*. *facile*, *with despatch*, as if he had had legal training. **Iam vero**: *besides*, *furthermore*; a formula of transition, usually emphatic, occurring occasionally in Tacitus. **curarum remissionumque**: also combined in *Dial.* 28, 27 f.

12. ubi . . . poscerent: the subjunctive of repeated action with *ubi*, occurs only here in the minor works, though common in the *Histories* and *Annals* and in post-Augustan writers generally. **conventus ac iudicia**: *circuit courts*. *Iudicia* is added as the more specific term for the sake of nearer definition, according to a characteristic usage in Tacitus. See *Introd.* p. xxx.

13. et saepius misericors: sc. *erat*. On *et*, *and at the same time*, *besides*, after an asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxviii. and *Hist.* IV. 12, *erat et domi delectus eques*; with *saepius* as here, e.g. *Ann.* III. 74. *pars aliqua militis Romani in ore, in latere et saepius a tergo erat.* — On the cumulative force of the asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxvii. **ubi . . . factum**: sc. *esset*. The ellipsis of the subjunctive forms of *esse* is rare and generally permitted only when a preceding subjunctive (so *poscerent* here) prevents any ambiguity. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii.

14. nulla ultra potestatis persona: sc. *erat*, in symmetry with its parallel clause, *misericors* (sc. *erat*), above. After the adjournment of the court, Agricola, unlike other legates, no longer kept up his judicial demeanor. **tristitiam . . . exuerat**: *he had cast off moroseness and hauteur and covetousness.* The figure, common in Tacitus, is taken from a dress, which can be put off or on at pleasure. Strictly speaking, he, as *Agricola*, could not, of course, cast off what he never had; but Tacitus means to say that as *legatus* he had divested himself, the moment he entered upon this office, of all those qualities which the Romans from time immemorial had come to regard as inseparable from it. The ambiguity was due to a striving for conciseness.

16. facilitas: *affability*, when not acting in an official capacity, and with the implication that he was easily accessible. So again ch. 40, 10.

17. integritatem . . . fuerit: with the sentiment, cp. Vell. Pat. II. 45, 5, *cuius* (sc. *Catonis*) *integritatem laudari nefas est.* — Observe, however, that Tacitus had explicitly praised these very characteristics in ch. 6, 19. Their enumeration conforms to the rules laid down by Menander (*Rhet. Gr.* III. 416 Sp.). The entire clause does not add a

new idea to the preceding, but serves as a kind of apology for having mentioned at all what might have been taken for granted *in tanto viro*.

18. famam . . . indulgent: a commonplace. Cp. Cic. *pro Arch.* 2, *trahimur omnes laudis studio et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur;* Tac. *Hist.* IV. 6, *etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur;* Milton, *Lycidas* 70, *Fame . . . that last infirmity of noble minds.* Cp. note *Dial.* 10, 28.

19. ostentanda . . . per artem: on this peculiarly Tacitean change of construction for the sake of variety, see *Introd.* p. xxxiv. — *per artem*, *by intrigues.* Cp. note ch. 27, 31.

21. conlegas: more particularly the governors of the neighboring provinces, such as Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Lugdunensis. **procuratores**: probably a rhetorical plural for sake of symmetry with *conlegas.* See note ch. 5, 4. — Observe the careful libration of these two clauses. **vincere inglorium . . . adteri sordidum**: to be taken only in reference to quarrels with the procuratores, who were inferior in rank to the *legatus.* — With the sentiment cp. Sen. *de ira*, II. 34, 1, *cum pari contendere anceps est . . . cum inferiore sordidum.* — On the brachylogy (*vinci eoque adteri*), see *Introd.* p. xxxiii.

22. minus triennium: Dio Cass. LII. 23, 2, gives the period of tenure of provincial governors as not less than three nor more than five years. The fact that Agricola was *legatus pro praetore* for even less than the usual period probably accounts for the renewed expectation that his election to the consulship would follow *immediately*, his hope being originally based on the fact that he was governor of Aquitania. See note ch. 9, 5.

23. ad spem, etc.: i.e. he was recalled to Rome, cherishing the hope of an immediate appointment to the consulship. **statim**, in place of the missing adjective, is joined to *spem*, this being equivalent to *res sperata*, as in Verg. *Georg.* IV. 162; Ovid, *Heroid.* XVII. 182.

25. dari: the present infinitive implies the correctness of the belief, although it was as yet based only on *opinio*, not actual information, a circumstance still further emphasized by the poetic quotation. **in hoc**: owing to the verbal force in *sermonibus*, an elliptical abl. abs. **par**: because Agricola was the best fitted for the office.

27. Haud . . . elēgit: *rumor is not always unreliable; occasionally it has even made the right selection* (i.e. in advance of authentic information). The verse is a choliambus or scazon, *elēgit* being

the so-called gnomic perfect which is chiefly poetic. In prose, e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 11, 3; 51, 11; Tac. *Ann.* III. 66. We may, however, equally well regard *elegit* as an archaic form of the present (cp. *intellego* for *intelligo*), in which case the line would be a senarius.

28. consul: in Jan. 77 A.D. **egregiae tum spei**: this seems to have been an expression for the marriageable age of women. She was then thirteen years old. Our extant inscriptions furnish eighteen instances of marriages at this age, sixteen at twelve, and twenty-one at fourteen years, twenty-one of the total belonging to Rome. The usual interpretation of this passage must make *tum = etiam tum*, a meaning which is not found anywhere. **iuveni mihi**: Tacitus was about twenty-three or twenty-four years old at the time of his marriage, being born about 54/55 A.D.

29. post consulatum: i.e. in 78 A.D. — Agricola's consulship seems, like his other curule offices, not to have been marked by any features worth recording, and, therefore, Tacitus contents himself with this bare reference. See note ch. 6, 27. His colleague was the future emperor Domitian, then twenty-six years old, and consul suffectus for the fifth time.

30. pontificatus sacerdotio: this high pontifical function was bestowed by the senate at the previous recommendation of the emperor, and was rarely held by men beneath consular rank.

Page 7. Chapter 10. On the relevancy and purpose of the following chapters (10–13), dealing with the geography and ethnology of Britain, see *Introd.* p. xiv.

1. scriptoribus: subjective dative. See note ch. 2, 17. — Among the writers probably referred to, besides the two mentioned, were Pytheas, Posidonius, and Sallust.

2. curae ingeniive: as Tacitus's predecessors are said to have covered up their ignorance by rhetorical embellishment, *curae* cannot designate, as it frequently does elsewhere, *laborious research*, but is here synonymous with *ars*, which is frequently contrasted with *ingenium* or *natura*. Cp. e.g. Quint. X. 1, 107, *curae plus in illo* (Demosthenes), *in hoc* (Cicero) *naturae*. Cic. *ad Q. fr.* II. 9 (11), 4; Ovid, *Trist.* II. 423 f., *Am.* I. 15, 13. This also accounts for the use of *eloquentissimi* (below, l. 11) in place of *summi*, *locupletissimi*, or the like.

3. tum primum: a similar reason for treating a subject more in detail is given in *Ann.* II. 27, *eius negotii initium . . . curatius disse-*

ram quia tum primum reperta sunt. On an ulterior motive, besides the scientific one here stated, see *Introd.* p. xiii.

4. priores: particularly Livy and Fabius Rusticus, and possibly Posidonius, but *not* Caesar, to whom *eloquentia percoluere* would be inapplicable. **percoluere**: *have embellished.* In this sense the verb seems to be ἅπ. εἰρ., but cp. Plaut. *Poen.* I. 2, 22 (vs. 232), *nisi perculta est* (sc. *mulier*) in a non-figurative meaning.

5. notitia: *information*, the word implying a more or less superficial knowledge, as contrasted with *scientia.*

6. spatio ac caelo: *geographical location. Caelo* is added to *spatio* by way of nearer definition, the land and sky being co-extensive. Cp. note ch. 9, 12.

7. obtenditur: *faces.* So *Germ.* 35, 5, but not elsewhere in this sense. — The ancients erroneously conceived Spain as stretching farther west and north, so that Britain was northeast of it and Ireland due north. See map. — By *Germania* Tacitus includes Scandinavia. **Gallis**: subjective dative. See note ch. 2, 17.

8. inspicitur: the underlying conception being that the entire southern coast of Britain ran parallel to the northern boundary of Gaul. See map. **nullis contra terris**: the ablative absolute is elliptical, *positis* being understood with *contra.* Cp. ch. 11, 5, *posita contra Hispania*, and *Introd.* p. xxxi.

9. vasto atque aperto mari: the identical phrase occurs in Caes. *B. G.* III. 12, 5, and similarly III. 9, 7, *in vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano.*

10. Fabius Rusticus: author of a history of his own times, which is cited by Tacitus as one of his sources for the reign of Nero (*Ann.* XIII. 20). He was especially partial to Seneca, his intimate friend. The account of Britain was given either in connection with the expedition of Claudius (43 A.D.) or else in the narrative of the uprising under Boudicca in the reign of Nero (61 A.D.). He is in all probability the historian referred to by Quintilian in the memorable passage in X. 1, 104, *superest adhuc et ornat aetatis nostrae gloriam vir saeculorum memoria dignus qui olim nominabitur nunc intellegitur.* A Fabius Rusticus, together with Pliny and Tacitus, is mentioned as one of the heirs in the will of Dasumius (written 108 A.D.). If he be the same as the historian, the present passage would furnish the only instance in Tacitus in which a writer still living is cited as a source.

11. eloquentissimi auctores: *consummate stylists.* — As the

context proves, *auctor* is here used without the accessory meaning of trustworthiness, a signification, though extremely common in post-Augustan Latin, still foreign to earlier writers. **oblongae scutulae**: the exact shape of the dish called *scutula* is unknown. It may have been rectangular or more like a trapezoid or trapezium. *Oblongae* seems to indicate an elongation of two of its sides, which in a rough way might correspond to the configuration of Great Britain. **bipenni**: the center of the double battle-ax, representing the narrowest part of the island. As *vel*, in place of *aut*, seems to show, there cannot have been any essential difference in form between the *scutula* and the *bipennis*. But such comparisons must not, in any case, be too closely pressed, based as they were upon very vague and untrustworthy information.

12. adsimulavere: a plural predicate after two singular subjects in *adversative* clauses is one of the characteristic features of Tacitean usage. Here the incongruity is all but done away with by the plural apposition. So also e.g. *Ann.* XII. 1, *huic Pallas, illi Callistus fautores aderant.* **Et**: *and as a matter of fact.* This asseverative use of *et*, at the beginning of a sentence, is common in Tacitus. Cf. e.g. 22, 21; *Germ.* 35, 14. **citra** = *sine.* See ch. 1, 12. **unde**: sc. *oriebatur.* With *unde* (18 instances), and similarly with *hinc*, *inde*, *ex eo*, and the like, Tacitus omits the verb. In the smaller works again, *Germ.* 4, 7, *unde habitus;* 9, 29, *unde causa.*

13. in universum fama: i.e. the erroneous notion gained general acceptance that the entire island, including Caledonia, had the shape spoken of. **transgressis**: this dative of local standpoint, akin to the Greek dative absolute, is first found in Varro *L. L.* V. 57. Cp. note ch. 11, 10. **inmensum . . . spatium**: the phrase occurs in five other places in Tacitus. Under the influence of Vergil he develops an increasing fondness for *inmensus*, *inmanis*, *ingens*, using them generally in the sense of *magnus.* **enorme**: here *shapeless*, but usually synonymous with *inmensus*, e.g. ch. 36, 3.

14. litore . . . tenuatur: a dactylic hexameter. Verses in prose, whether complete or partial, are severely censured by the ancients. Cp. e.g. Cic. *Orat.* 20, 67 and Quint. IX. 4, 7, and but few genuine instances occur, the rhythmical cadence being in the majority of cases not felt, if the sentence is properly read. The present line, however, *Ann.* I. 1, though faulty, and especially *Germ.* 39, 13, *auguriis . . . sacram* are noteworthy.—On the conciseness of expression, cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiii.

17. adfirmavit: *confirmed;* for that Britain is an island had been *asserted* by Pytheas and others, but Agricola's fleet first *demonstrated* it. It is to this achievement that the only ancient author, besides Tacitus, who mentions Agricola, refers. Cp. Dio Cass. LXVI. 20.

18. Orcadas: i.e. the Orkneys. That they were wholly unknown up to this time, as Tacitus states, is disproved by Mela and Pliny — The Greek accusative plural occurs in Tacitus but rarely and only in proper names. Cp. *Germ.* 45; *Hist.* IV. 55; *Ann.* III. 61; IV. 51; XII. 32, 33, 38; XIV. 29.

19. Dispecta: *was descried in the distance;* but, unlike the Orkneys, Thule was not subdued, because they had no orders to do so, and even if they had, the approaching winter would have made it inexpedient to attempt its subjugation, the tacit assumption being that the Romans would have had no difficulty in accomplishing the task. — The verb at the beginning, and at the same time in juxtaposition with *domuit*, skillfully emphasizes the antithesis. **Thule**: first mentioned by the distinguished navigator, *Pytheas* of Massilia (4th cent. B.C.), and regarded by the ancients generally as the most northerly point of the earth, hence *ultima Thule* (Verg. *Georg.* I. 30). It was said by Pytheas to be six days' sail from Britain, the night and day being six months long. Hence it has been rashly identified by some with Iceland. The island here referred to was probably Mainland, the largest of the Shetland group. It can be seen from the Orkneys. **hactenus**: sc. *progredi*, *to advance up to this point only*, with special reference to *dispecta est.* Their orders were to return, so soon as Thule was sighted. The omission of *tantum* is a noteworthy Latin idiom. **et** = *et praeterea.* In this treatise again ch. 11, 5; 15, 30; 26, 17; 29, 24; 30, 27; 31, 20; 38, 26. So also *ac* (l. 25). — The date (83 A.D.) as well as the season of the year is fixed by ch. 38, 29.

20. mare pigrum: corresponds to the πεπηγυῖα θάλασσα of Pytheas, the *mare concretum* of Pliny, and may represent the seas of the northern ocean filled with floating masses of ice in which ancient mariners may well have found it difficult to make any headway. In the *Germ.* 45, 25 the ocean west of Scandinavia is similarly styled *mare pigrum ac prope inmotum.* As we see from this description, the knowledge of these regions had been but little advanced in the four centuries that separate Tacitus from Pytheas. — On the brachylogy in this clause, cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **perinde**: sc. *ac cetera maria*, an elliptical comparison common with *perinde*, *aeque*, and the like. This sluggish sea is not stirred like other sheets of water even in a storm.

Cp. the similar description of the Dead Sea in Tac. *Hist.* V. 6, *neque vento impellitur . . . inertes undae superiacta, ut solido, ferunt.*

22. rariores: used predicatively, though in attributive position (= *rarius occurrunt*), and correlative with *tardius*, for the apposition *causa*, etc., can apply only to *terrae montesque.* The construction is exceedingly common in T. **causa et materia**: *origin and occasion.* Tacitus is fond of combining words denoting origin. So e.g. *Germ.* 9, 29, *causa et origo.*

24. aestus: this phenomenon was naturally a source of astonishment to the Romans, as there are scarcely any tides in the Mediterranean. **neque . . . ac**: *does not fall within the scope of this work and besides.* This collocation seems to occur in but one other passage in extant writers, viz. Suet. *Vesp.* 12, *ac* having the same force as here. See note to l. 19.

25. multi rettulere: e.g. Aristotle, Pytheas, Strabo, Diodorus, Mela, Pliny, Seneca, but above all *Posidonius* (1st cent. B.C.) in his *Μετεωρολογικά* and *Περὶ Ὠκεανοῦ*, the standard works on these and kindred topics in antiquity. **addiderim**: because based on authentic information acquired in these expeditions, and doubtless communicated to the author by Agricola himself.

26. fluminum: *waters.* So Verg. *Aen.* XII. 518; Val. Flacc. II. 496. **huc atque illuc ferre**: *ebbs and flows*, i.e. the high tides send huge volumes of water far up the friths and rivers, and on receding at low tide leave the channel all but dry. — Elsewhere T. uses *huc illuc*, occasionally *hucque et illuc*, and once *huc vel illuc.*

29. velut in suo: as if they were still a part of the ocean's bed. With the personification we may compare, *Germ.* 30, 24, *Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul ac deponit.*

Chapter 11. **30. Ceterum**: but to return after this digression, which was *non huius operis*, to the description of Britain. *Ceterum* often has this resumptive force in Tacitus. Cp. note *Dial.* 26, 6. **qui . . . coluerint**: probably modeled upon Sall. *Iug.* 17, 7, *sed qui mortales initio Africam coluerint*, etc.

Page 8. **1. indigenae**: this was the opinion of Timaeus and Pytheas, the authorities of Diodorus (V. 21, 5), and was the claim made by the Britons themselves. **an advecti**: Cp. Caes. *B. G.* V. 12, 1, *Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insula ipsi memoria proditum dicunt, maritima pars ab iis qui . . ex Belgis*

transierant. **ut**: *as might be expected.* This elliptical use of *ut* occurs often in Tacitus, e.g. 18, 7; *Germ.* 2, 8; 22, 32; 27, 27; 30, 27; 45, 14.

2. Habitus corporum: *physical characteristics.* So *Germ.* 4, 8. **ex eo argumenta**: sc. *petuntur.* — On the ellipsis, cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi.

3. rutilae . . . artus: cp. *Germ.* 4, 9, *rutilae comae, magna corpora.* — Tacitus's information was probably derived from Agricola, though he may have seen some of the natives in Rome.

4. Silurum: they dwelt in what is now South Wales and Monmouthshire, and were subdued by Frontinus. See ch. 17, 14. Their origin, probably Celtic (see below), is still an unsolved problem of ethnology. **colorati**: usually taken in the sense of *swarthy, sunburnt,* an epithet applied by the ancients to the Hindoos, Chinese, and Etruscans; but such a designation seems quite out of place with respect to a nation living in northern climes, and would be inconsistent with their Celtic origin, nor is there any evidence that the Iberians of Spain were *colorati;* finally, it is important to observe that in the rest of the description of the Silures, unlike that of the Caledonians, no *physical,* but only external and acquired characteristics are referred to. It will, therefore, be best to interpret the epithet in a like sense here, i.e. *painted,* possibly *tattooed,* which is a well-attested practice of the Britons. Cp. Caes. *B. G.* V. 14, 2.

5. et = *et praeterea, and the fact moreover.* See note ch. 10, 19. On *et* after an asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxviii.

6. easque sedes: the context leaves it undetermined whether Tacitus meant to say that Iberians settled in the territory then occupied by the Silures, the latter acquiring Iberian customs, in which case the Silures were Celts (cp. the term Celtiberi), or whether the Silures of his time were the descendants of the Iberian conquerors who drove out the Celtic aborigines. In either case the hypothesis of the Iberian migration must be rejected.

7. proximi Gallis et similes, etc.: i.e. the tribes dwelling nearest to the Gauls (viz. the Cantians) also (*et* = *etiam*) resemble them. The two *seu* clauses do not give alternative reasons, but the first is in a measure the direct result of the *proximity,* while the similar climatic conditions account for the ethnological *resemblance.* **durante originis usu**: *because the customs of their original state were retained.* *durare* in the sense of to *survive,* seems to occur first in Livy.

8. diversa: *in opposite directions.* For the meaning *opposite,* cp. e.g. ch. 23, 28. **positio caeli**: *climate.*

9. habitum: sc. *eundem*. On the ellipsis of the demonstrative pronoun, see note ch. 6, 19. **In universum . . . aestimanti**: *but on a general consideration*. The so-called *dative* of the person judging. Cp. *Germ.* 6, 16, *in universum aestimanti*. Cp. note ch. 10, 13.

11. Eorum: sc. *Gallorum*. **deprehendas**: sc. *apud Britannos*. To one ignorant of their common origin the coincidence would be surprising. On the force of this verb, see note ch. 7, 10, and on the *collocatio verborum*, characteristic of Tacitus, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **superstitionum persuasiones**: *religious convictions, cult. Persuasio* is very rarely found in the plural. Caesar, while confirming the identity of the cult, asserts, in apparent contradiction to Tacitus, that it originated in Britain and was adopted by the Gauls. Cp. *B.G.* VI. 13, 11 f. *Disciplina* (sc. *Druidum*) *in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.* The truth seems to be that the ritual was originally Celtic, but, owing to the isolation of the British Celts, was by them developed on more rigid and orthodox lines.

12. sermo . . . diversus: of the two great branches of the Celtic language in the British islands, the Goidelic or Q Celts and the Brythonic or P Celts, we must probably look to the latter, represented by Welsh, Breton, and Cornish, as exhibiting the greater similarity with the Gallic tongue, but the ancients did not advance beyond a merely perfunctory observation of linguistic phenomena, and therefore little or no reliance can be placed upon their statements in such matters. **in deposcendis . . . formido**: observe the artistic balancing of clauses. — With the statement, cp. Caes. *B.G.* III. 19, 6, *ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.*

13. ubi advenere: sc. *pericula*.

14. praeferunt: for the more usual *prae se ferre*, so ch. 43, 12.

15. pax emollierit: on the enervating effect of peace upon a savage people, see ch. 21, 25 ff., and esp. *Germ.* 14, 24, *si civitas . . . longa pace et otio torpeat.* **Nam**: like *enim*, γάρ, with the usual ellipsis to be supplied in thought. I.e. this may be confirmed by the example of the Gauls, for they, etc.

16. accepimus: esp. Caes. *B.G.* VI. 24, *fuit antea tempus cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent*, cited *Germ.* 28, 5.

17. amissa, etc.: on the initial position of the verb in the singular with two subjects, especially common in ablative absolute construc-

tions, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **pariter**: on the position, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

18. olim victis: refers to the expedition under Claudius in 43 A.D. **ceteri**: the still unsubdued tribes in the north and west.

19. fuerunt: i.e. before *segnitia cum otio intravit.*

Chapter 12. **20. in pedite robur**: i.e. their *chief* strength, for they also made considerable use of chariots, as we learn e.g. from Caes. *B. G.* IV. 24, 32 ff., V. 9, 15; Diod. V. 21. **nationes**: *tribes.* **curru**: see note ch. 35, 19.

21. Honestior auriga, clientes propugnant: this is possibly mentioned to controvert the erroneous opinion of those who compared this mode of fighting with the Homeric custom (e.g. Diod. V. 21, 5), for in Homer the ἡνίοχος is the driver, while the hero fights on foot near his chariot (παραιβάτης). *clientes* (Caes. *B. G.* I. 4, 2), doubtless identical with the *comites* or *comitatus*, so often referred to in the *Germania*, the *auriga* being the *princeps* or chief. **propugnant**: i.e. *fight in defense of their chief.* Cp. *Germ.* 14, 21. **olim regibus parebant**: this is confirmed by Caes. *B. G.* V. 11, 9; Tac. *Ann.* II. 24, and others.

22. per principes = *principibus per quos.* On the prolepsis, see *Introd.* p. xxx. **factionibus et studiis**: *factional quarrels.* Hendiadys.

23. distrahuntur: the regular term for political disturbances.

24. pro nobis = *nobis. Pro* is used pleonastically to mark a more pointed contrast with *adversus.* — With the sentiment, cp. the famous passage in *Germ.* 33, 15, *urgentibus imperii fatis nihil iam praestare fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam.* **in conmune non consulunt**: this trait is often alluded to, e.g. 15, 6; 29, 3; 38, 19.

28. asperitas frigorum abest: Cp. Caes. *B. G.* V. 12, 7, *loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.*

29. mensuram: sc. *dierum.* The so-called *comparatio compendiaria* used to avoid awkward repetitions. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi. According to Plin. *N. H.* II. 75, 77, 186, the longest day in Alexandria was 14 hours, in Italy 15, and in Britain 17, which is fairly accurate. The longest day in London is $16\frac{1}{2}$, in northern Scotland more than 18 hours.

32. occidere et exsurgere . . . transire: sc. *solem.* On an analogous substitution of only part of an antecedent (*solis fulgorem*), see note ch. 13, 22. **transire**: *to pass across*, i.e. along the horizon

or edge of the disk-shaped earth. — The phenomenon of the midnight sun is here given expressly on the authority of others (*adfirmant*) and, as a matter of fact, it is not observed in even the most northerly regions of Caledonia. In *Germ.* 45, 27, it is more accurately ascribed to Norway.

Page 9. **1. Scilicet**, etc.: this fanciful and somewhat obscure explanation was adopted by Tacitus from some earlier and unknown pseudo-scientist. It implies the belief, generally rejected even in antiquity, that the earth was a circular shield or concave disk, the sun's shadow being supposed to cause night. On the presumably western, unobstructed edge (*extrema et plana terrarum*) the shadow cast would be low, falling far beneath the heaven with its stars; at the center the more extended curvature of the surface would project it to a somewhat greater height, thus bringing on deeper darkness, while at the opposite extremity there would be no shadow at all, or perpetual daylight. **extrema et plana**: except in Sallust such substantival adjectives are found in pre-Tacitean prose only if they convey a partitive meaning.

2. caelum et sidera: on this collocation, see *Introd.* p. xxx.

3. praeter: *excepting*, a comparatively rare usage. In Tac. again: *Hist.* V. 8, 10; *Ann.* I. 13; XIII. 19, 45. **oleam vitemque et cetera . . . sueta**: a very frequent collocation in Tacitus, *-que*, joining a group, followed by an independent element with *et*. In this treatise again, ch. 25, 24.

4. terris: the ablative of place where, though extremely common in Tacitus, is still rare in the minor writings. Cp. e.g. ch. 25, 24; 33, 22; 45, 3; *Dial.* 13, 21. **oriri sueta**: so Sall. *Hist. fragm.* I. 9. **frugum patiens, fecundum**: *yields, or rather abounds in fruits*, excepting such as grow only in warmer climates, like that of Italy. — *fecundum* is added asyndetically to qualify *patiens*, which is at best a vague term and therefore liable to convey a false impression. — With the phrase, cp. e.g. Lucan, IX. 857, *impatiensque solum Cereris*.

5. tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt: an adversative, not an enumerative asyndeton which would involve an uncalled for hysteron proteron. So exactly ch. 3, 19. — *proveniunt* cannot here signify *growing up, thriving* (its usual meaning, with *fruges* and the like), for this would be incompatible with *tarde mitescunt*; but it is used in the very rare sense of *coming forth, sprouting*, e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* II. 1, 26 (vs. 223); Tac. *Hist.* IV. 65.

7. Fert . . . argentum: confirmed by Strabo IV. 5, 2. Both gold

and silver are found, though in no considerable quantity, in many parts of the British Islands. **alia metalla**: of these *tin* was the most abundant, and was brought south by the Phoenicians, who probably secured most of it from Cornwall and the Κασσιτερίδες, or Tin Islands, usually identified with the Scilly Islands. The supply seems to have been exhausted at the beginning of our era, which may be the reason why Tacitus does not expressly speak of this ancient and famous trade here. After the Roman invasion, *lead* (*plumbum nigrum et album, stannum*) occupies commercially the first place. *Iron* is mentioned by Caesar (*B.G.* V. 12, 5), and Strabo l.c. *Bronze* was even in Caesar's time imported, and but few bronze objects have been discovered. **pretium** = *praemium, reward*. So ch. 1, 9, and often in Tacitus.

8. gignit et Oceanus margarita: a very concise expression for *Oceanus quoque pretium victoriae dat, nam margarita gignit.* See *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **subfusca ac liventia**: according to Plin. *N. H.* IX. 35, 57, 116, they were *parvi . . . discolores*, but Beda (I. 4) says that, while but small and few in number, they were variegated in color.

9. artem abesse legentibus: the desire to formulate an epigrammatic antithesis has led T. into an incongruity, for it was not so much the lack of *skill* in the *legentes*, but an absence of *legentes* altogether, for the reason given.

10. Rubro Mari: i.e. the Persian Gulf; the latter name, though rare, also occurs. **viva ac spirantia**: so combined in Cic. *pro dom.* 52, 134. **saxis avelli**: *saxis* is probably ablative.

11. avelli . . . conligi: depending upon a verb like *constat*, to be supplied by zeugma from the indirect discourse introduced by *arbitrantur*, hence also the subjunctive in *expulsa sint*. **ego**: here expressed to contrast with *quidam*, the adversative particle being, as so often in Tacitus, omitted. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi.

12. naturam: *good quality*.

13. avaritiam: sc. *abesse*, to be supplied by an easy zeugma from *deesse*. See *Introd.* p. xxxii.

Chapter 13. **14 ff. ipsi . . . serviant**: this short paragraph gives the result, by anticipation, of the Roman campaigns against the Britons up to the point of Agricola's arrival. The following historical survey takes the place of the usual σύγκρισις, or comparison which, according to the rules of the ancient rhetoricians, constituted

an essential feature of every artistically composed *encomium*. See *Introd.* p. xvii.

14. Ipsi Britanni here marks, with Tacitus's usual skill, the transition from the natural resources which the *country* offered the conquerors, to what its *inhabitants* contributed to the carrying on of the functions of the government. **et iniuncta imperii munera**: i.e. the *remaining* burdens imposed by the imperial government. On the ellipsis of *cetera*, see note ch. 6, 29.

15. obeunt: to be joined by zeugma to *dilectum* (*ferunt*) and *tributa* (*faciunt*). See *Introd.* p. xxxii.

17. Igitur: *Igitur* at the beginning of a sentence is the rule in Tacitus. One of the *seven* exceptions occurs ch. 16, 20. This particle often, so again ch. 29, 25, introduces a new topic, here foreshadowed by the last clause, *domiti*, etc. **primus**, etc.: i.e. in 55 and 54 B.C.

20. ostendisse . . . tradidisse: Caesar's expeditions to Britain, on the whole, proved unsuccessful, and he is, therefore, said merely to have directed the attention of Romans to the expediency of its conquest. From a purely historical point of view, however, the invasion was a very noteworthy event. **Mox**: *subsequently*. This is by far the commoner meaning of the word in Tacitus. **bella civilia**: 49–45 B.C. and 44–31 B.C. **et . . . arma**: the *et* clause is epexegetic. See *Introd.* p. xxx.

21. principum: *leaders*, i.e. Caesar, and Pompey with his followers, Augustus, Brutus, Cassius, and Antony. **oblivio**: sc. *sequebantur*.

22. consilium, etc.: *a settled policy*. Cp. Tac. *Ann.* I. 11, *addideratque* (sc. *Augustus in suo testamento*) *consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii.* Contemporary poets, however, repeatedly attributed to him the design of conquering Britain, e.g. Hor. *Carm.* III. 5, 2; Prop. II. 10 (III. 1) 17 f. **id**: sc. *oblivio*. On the substitution of the partial antecedent (*longa oblivio*), see ch. 10, 22; 12, 32.

23. Tiberius: the title *divus* is, as in the case of Caligula, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian, never added, because these emperors were not deified after death. **praeceptum**: cp. Tac. *Ann.* I. 77, *neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius* (sc. *Augusti*), and esp. IV. 37, *qui omnia facta dictaque eius* (sc. *Augusti*) *vice legis observem*; 32, *proferendi imperii incuriosus* (sc. *Tiberius*). **Agitasse . . . constat**: *constat*, in Tacitus, except here, ch. 43, 10, and *Hist.* III. 29, *inrupisse militem . . . constat*, always precedes the ac-

cusative with infinitive. — On the brachylogy involved, see *Introd.* p. xxxii.

24. **velox**: with a genitive is a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον, but similar constructions, under the influence of the Augustan poets, soon found their way into later prose, and Tacitus furnishes many instances of the extension of this usage. **mobili ingenio**: *by reason of his changeable disposition.* The abl. is causal. — *fuisset* must be supplied from *fuissent.*

26. **frustra fuissent**: *had been thwarted, gone for naught.* In this sense first in Ennius ap. Gell. *N. A.* XVIII. 2, 7 (p. 158 V.). In Tacitus again, *Hist.* I. 75. — This mock campaign (in 40 A.D.) is repeatedly held up to ridicule. Cp. *Germ.* 37, 20, *ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae.* **auctor iterati operis**: in 43 A.D. Caesar had preceded him.

28. **Vespasiano**: as Dio Cassius's detailed narrative (LX. 19 ff.) shows, he was legatus of the second legion, the consular legate being A. Plautius. The emperor appeared on the scene subsequently, but remained only sixteen days. Cp. also Suet. *Vesp.* 4, where it is said that he subdued two powerful tribes, captured over twenty towns and the Isle of Wight. **venturae mox fortunae**: *the exalted rank subsequently in store for him.* He became emperor twenty-nine years later, in 69 A.D., having sprung from an obscure family, the gens Flavia. On *fortuna* = imperial rank, cp. ch. 7, 13; *Hist.* I. 10.

29. **et monstratus fatis**: the fates are here personified, and said to have drawn the attention of the Romans to Vespasian as a man worthy of still higher honors. — On *et* after an asyndeton, the last member being, as often, when a new idea is added, amplified, see *Introd.* p. xxviii. *fatis* is the dative of agent for an ablative with *a* or *ab*, on which see note ch. 2, 17.

Page 10. Chapter 14. 1. **Aulus Plautius**: *Aulus Plautius*, consul suffectus 29 A.D., legatus of Dalmatia or Pannonia 41–43, of Britain 43–47. Of all the predecessors of Agricola, his successes seem to have been the most conspicuous, hence he is dismissed with a bare mention, his achievements being, moreover, attributed to Vespasian, a subordinate officer. See note above.

2. **subinde**: *immediately thereafter.* Except in Livy, a poetic and post-Augustan expression. **Ostorius Scapula**: *P. Ostorius Scapula*, legatus of Britain 47–51 A.D., received the *triumphalia ornamenta*, for his defeat and capture of Caractacus. Cp. *Ann.* XII. 31 ff.

3. **proxima pars**: it seems that the subjugated regions included considerably more territory in the south and west.

4. **colonia**: *Camulodunum*, the modern Colchester, in Essex, fifty-one miles N.N.E. of London.

5. **Cogidumno**: possibly identical with the *(Co)gidubni r(egis) lega(ti) Aug(usti) in Brit(annia)* in a celebrated inscription of the time of Claudius, found in Colchester. The title *legatus Augusti* may have been bestowed upon him as an exceptional honor for his steadfast loyalty to Rome.

6. **vetere ac iam pridem**: the same synonyms are combined in *Hist.* II. 38.

7. **ut haberet**: sc. *populus Romanus.*

8. **et reges**: *even kings*, ironically added to contrast with *servitutis.* — Examples of such royal allies in Roman history are Massinissa, Attalus, Eumenes, Prusias, Juba, Herod, Tigranes, Artavasdes, Cotys. — With the emphatic position of the phrase, cp. *Dial.* 40, 26, *nec tanti . . . Gracchorum eloquentia fuit, ut pateretur et leges.* **Didius Gallus**: *A. Didius Gallus*, born about 10 A.D., curator aquarum 38–49, legatus of Moesia c. 50(?), of Britain 51–57. **fama aucti officii**: i.e. by these actions he sought to gain the reputation of having added luster to his administration.

11. **Q. Veranius**: consul in 49 A.D., legatus propraetore of Lycia (under Claudius), legatus of Britain 58/59. Cp. *Ann.* XIV. 29. **isque**: *but he.* The adversative use of *que* is common in T., and not rare in previous writers. Cp. e.g. ch. 17, 13.

12. **Suetonius Paulinus**: cp. note ch. 5, 23.

13. **firmatis praesidiis** = *firmis praesidiis positis.* So again ch. 35, 13. **quorum fiducia**: *relying upon these two achievements*; so *per quae* above includes two antecedents.

14. **Monam insulam**: the modern Anglesey, subsequently invaded by Agricola (ch. 18, 4 ff.). **rebellibus**: a poetical word, found in Vergil and Ovid, but rare in post-Augustan prose, except in Curtius and in Tacitus.

15. **terga occasioni patefecit**: i.e. he gave an opportunity to the enemy to attack his rear. The bold personification is apparently a Tacitean coinage. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxvii.

Chapter 15. **16. agitare . . . conferre**: *debated . . . talked over.* Cp. *Ann.* I. 5, *haec atque talia agitantibus*; *Dial.* 42, 32, *de eis rursus conferemus.*

17. interpretando accendere: *exaggerating in the heat of discussion.* **nihil**, etc.: similar complaints are attributed to Boudicca in *Ann.* XIV. 35, and in the elaborate speech which Dio Cassius (LXII. 2 ff.) put into her mouth. — On the rhetorical character of these speeches and their purpose, see *Introd.* p. xv. — Noteworthy rhetorical features, accumulated in this short passage, are: *anaphora* (ll. 21. 23. 24. 4); *asyndeton* (ll. 20. 26. 30 f. 2); *antithesis* (ll. 19 f. 21. 25); *rhythmical endings*, or *clausulae*, on which see note ch. 30, 12 (ll. 19. 22. 25. 30. 31. 1. 3. 6. 7). — The verb of saying must be supplied from *interpretando*; see *Introd.* p. xxxi.

19. tamquam: giving the reason of others, not the author's. This is a Graecism (ὡς) and frequent in Tacitus. **ex facili** = *facile*, ἐξ ἑτοίμου, similar instances occurring with increasing frequency after Cicero. The same phrase is especially common in Seneca; in T. again *Hist.* III. 49. For other Graecisms in this treatise, cp. notes ch. 18, 23; 20, 14. 20; 29, 21; 34, 28.

20. e quibus, etc.: observe the prolepsis, *legatus* and *procurator* being, for the sake of conciseness, put into the relative clause. The regular form would have been: *legatus et procurator, e quibus ille . . . hic.* Cp. *Ann.* I. 8 and *Introd.* p. xxx.

21. procurator: their covetousness was notorious. Cp. 7, 7. **aeque . . . aeque**: for *aeque . . . quam*, or *ac.* In anaphora also Hor. *Ep.* I. 1. 25 f., but apparently not elsewhere.

23. Alterius . . . alterius: with the first understand *legati*, with the second, *procuratoris manus*, *centuriones* being in apposition to the former, *servos* to the latter. **vim et contumelias miscere**: cp. the phrase, '*To add insult to injury*,' and with the sentiment, the complaint of Boudicca in *Ann.* XIV. 31.

25. exceptum = *exemptum.* So *Germ.* 18, 20; 25, 9, and twice in the second part of the *Annals* (XIV. 49; XV. 46), in which Tacitus often returns to his earlier usage.

26. ignavis plerumque et imbellibus: the same collocation occurs in *Germ.* 12, 19; 31, 16. — *plerumque*, as belonging to both adjs., is placed between them; see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **eripi domos**: this remarkable figure, for *pellere domibus*, is chosen for the sake of syntactical symmetry with the succeeding members of the asyndeton.

27. tamquam . . . nescientibus: i.e. in the belief that we know how to die well enough, but not in behalf of our country. — On *tamquam*, see l. 19.

28. Quantulum: like *quantus quisque, how few.* The diminutive here emphasizes the relative smallness of the enemy's number when compared to *their* multitudes.

29. Sic: i.e. in the same way as we shall do now. **Germanias**: if the allusion, as is likely, is to the defeat of Varus by Arminius in 9 A.D., the plural is rhetorical for *Germaniam inferiorem*, which would have been too cumbrous and pedantic.

31. et = *et praeterea.* Cp. note ch. 11, 5. **causas**: *incentives.*

32. Divus Iulius: *even Caesar had to retreat, god though he be.* For a similar sarcasm, cp. *Ann.* I. 59, *ille inter numina dicatus Augustus.* Here the irony is somewhat out of place, as *Divus* could not refer to an act of the living Caesar; but so Caesar is called *dictator* by an analogous anachronism in the passage cited below. **Recessuros . . . aemularentur**: supply respectively *Romanos* and *Britanni.* These different subjects would be more clearly designated in direct discourse (*recedent . . . aemulemur*). Cp. the similar sentiment in Tac. *Ann.* XII. 34, *vocabatque* (sc. Caractacus) *nomina maiorum qui dictatorem Caesarem pepulissent.* **modo**: for *si modo* or *dummodo.* In Tacitus only here and *Ann.* II. 14.

Page 11. **3. Iam . . . etiam**: if *Britannorum* had not intervened, T. would have said *iam et.* See note ch. 30, 30.

5. in alia insula: observe that Boudicca is here supposed to have known that Britain was an island. On such inconsistencies, see notes ch. 31, 15 and 10, 17.

6. fuerit: for *fuit* in direct discourse. — On the thought, see ch. 12, 25 ff.

7. audere: used absolutely; in the minor works only here.

Chapter 16. **8. His atque talibus**: a Sallustian phrase, e.g. *Iug.* 64, 3, occurring no fewer than twenty-two times in Tacitus. **Boudicca**: wife of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni. Her tragic history is given in detail in *Ann.* XIV. 31 ff. and Dio Cass. LXII. 1 ff.

9. sexum . . . discernunt: in *Ann.* XIV. 35, Boudicca more correctly says, *solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare.* for the evidence available seems to make against the assumption of female *rulers* among Celtic tribes, except in rare instances, and Tacitus himself (*Germ.* 45, 30 f.) mentions the custom as a proof of the low and servile character of the Germanic Sitones. **sumpsere . . . bellum**: a Sallustian expression, copied from Thucydides, e.g. III.

39, 3, and often used by Tacitus to avoid the trite phrase *arma sumere*. See *Introd.* p. xxxv.

10. sparsos . . . praesidiis: this statement is at variance with the account in *Ann.* XIV. 33.

12. in barbaris = *apud barbaros usitatum*.

13. omisit ira et victoria: *wrath incited by victory*. On the singular predicate and the epexegetic *et*, see *Introd.* p. xxx. — According to *Ann.* XIV. 33, the towns of *London* and *Verulam* were sacked, the ninth legion all but exterminated, and some seventy thousand persons massacred. This figure is doubtless an exaggeration, but it nevertheless proves this to have been one of the most disastrous defeats which Rome ever sustained. **quod nisi**: *and were it not that*. So again ch. 26, 22.

16. tenentibus = *retinentibus*.

17. proprius: *special, personal*. **ex legato timor**: *fear of the legate*. In this causal sense the preposition is very frequent in Tacitus, particularly with *metus*.

19. suae quisque iniuriae ultor: *avenging every insult, as if directed against himself*, but the reading is doubtful. This suspicion, spread by the enemies of Paulinus, was the cause of his recall. Cp. *Ann.* XIV. 38 f.

20. Missus, like *ausus* below, is the participle, not the finite verb with *est* understood. **Petronius Turpilianus**: *P. Petronius Turpilianus*, consul 61 A.D., legatus Britanniae 61–63, curator aquarum 63–64, received the *triumphalia ornamenta* in 65. He was executed as a partisan of Nero by Galba in 68. **tamquam**: *on the alleged ground*. Cp. ch. 15, 19.

21. novus: *unacquainted with*. So Sil. Ital. VI. 254, *novus dolori*. In this sense *novus* and *exorabilior*, immediately preceding, are found in Tacitus only here. **paenitentiae**: abstract for concrete. Cp. ch. 20, 15; 44, 3; 45, 1, 23.

22. prioribus: neuter, and so frequently in T. Cp. note 41, 1. **Trebellio Maximo**: *M. Trebellius Maximus*, a novus homo, consul in 55 or 56 A.D., legatus Britanniae 63–69 A.D. — Observe the repetition of the name below, in place of *qui* or *is*, a favorite device of the author.

23. et nullis castrorum experimentis: sc. *vir*, ablative of quality. *Without military experience*. For this meaning of the substantive, cp. e.g. ch. 19, 23. *Et* before a negative, here in place of *neque ullis*, is perhaps more common in Tacitus than in any other Latin writer.

24. curandi: sc. *officii*. The absolute use occurs e.g. Sall. *Iug.* 60, 1 and in Tacitus again, *Ann.* XI. 22.

25. Didicere: on the emphatic position, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **ignoscere**: said with a tinge of irony.

26. civilium armorum: i.e. the struggles between Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian in 68/69 A.D.

29. fuga: he finally took refuge with Vitellius. Cp. *Hist.* I. 60.

30. praecario praefuit: *governed on sufferance*.

31. pacti: sc. *sunt*. They *compromised*, the army retaining its mutinous disposition, the general his life. **et**: *and thus*. Cp. 3, 18. **seditio sine sanguine stetit**: observe the alliteration, on which cp. *Introd.* p. xxviii.

32. Vettius Bolanus: cp. note ch. 8, 22.

Page 12. **1. agitavit** = *exagitavit*, i.e. he did not stir up Britain by any military activity. The verb is a favorite of Tacitus. **erga** = *adversus*. Cp. note ch. 5, 9.

Chapter 17. **6. et minuta**: sc. *est*. — On *et* after an asyndeton, the third member being amplified and adding a new idea, see the exact parallel, ch. 13, 29, and *Introd.* p. xxviii.

7. Petilius Cerialis: cp. note ch. 8, 26.

8. Brigantium civitatem: a powerful tribal confederacy in what is now northern England.

9. perhibetur: because little was known about the numerical strength of the tribes in the north of Caledonia, which is included under the term *totius provinciae*.

11. victoria amplexus aut bello: i.e. he subdued some tribes in a single battle, others in a series of campaigns. — On the position of the verb, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

12. alterius in the sense of *alius*. Cp. note ch. 5, 6. **obruisset**: sc. *si diutius in Britannia mansisset*. He was governor from 71–74 A.D. — *obruere*, to *throw into the shade*. So again ch. 46, 30 and *Dial.* 38, 22.

13. sustinuitque: on the adversative force of *que*, see note ch. 14, 11. **Iulius Frontinus**: *S. Iulius Frontinus*, one of the most distinguished men of his time, praetor urbanus in 70 A.D.; three times consul, 74, 98, 100 A.D.; legatus Britanniae about 74/5–77; proconsul of Asiae about 93; curator aquarum 97; a friend of Martial and Pliny, and the author of many technical works, of which the *Strate-*

gemata and the famous *de aquis urbis Romae* are extant. He died about 103/104. **vir magnus**: cp. Plin. *Epist.* IV. 8, 3, *Frontino, principi viro.* **quantum licebat**: to be taken with *sustinuitque molem.*

14. Silurum: cp. note ch. 11, 4.

15. virtutem . . . difficultates: observe the chiasmus.

Chapter 18. The fact that such brilliant men as Cerialis and Frontinus, in spite of occasional successes, after all failed to pacify Britain doubly enhanced the achievements of their successor, Agricola, to the detailed narrative of whose campaign (78–83 A.D.) the biographer now turns (ch. 18–38). See *Introd.* pp. xii. xvii.

17. media iam aestate: July, 78 A.D. He arrived about September; see below *transvecta aestas.* **milites . . . occasionem**: observe the libration of clauses.

19. velut: used like *tamquam;* see note ch. 15, 19.

20. verterentur: here, as often in Tacitus, with the force of a middle. **Ordovicum**: the Ordovices were a tribe dwelling in the central and northern parts of Wales. They are mentioned as allies of Caractacus, king of the Silures.

21. alam: in the military organization of the Empire, an *ala* was a troop of cavalry 500–1000 strong. **agentem**: *stationed*, a military term. **prope universam**: Tacitus generally thus modifies expressions that may seem exaggerated. Cp. e.g. below, l. 2; *Hist.* I. 50, *prope eversum orbem;* 80, *prope urbi excidio fuit.*

22. erecta: sc. *est.*

23. quibus bellum volentibus erat = *qui bellum volebant*, a noteworthy Graecism, first used by Sall. *Iug.* 84, 3, *plebi . . . volenti* ⟨*esse*⟩ *putabatur*, in imitation of Thucydides, e.g. II. 3, 2, τῷ πλήθει οὐ βουλομένῳ . . . ἦν, the verb of wishing being attracted in case to a dative which depends on εἶμι, γίγνομαι, or *esse.* In Tacitus again, *Hist.* III. 43, *Maturo ceterisque remanere . . . volentibus fuit.* **probare exemplum**: *tested his conduct, style of warfare.* **ac**: *and at the same time.* For the force of the conjunction, cp note ch. 10, 24, and 9, 13 (*et*).

24. recentis legati animum opperiri: *awaited what kind of spirit the newly arrived legate would show.* This pregnant use of *opperiri* occurs repeatedly in Tacitus. — The more warlike Britons wanted to make trial of Agricola's military qualities by occasional

attacks, before they ventured upon a general uprising, but his energetic movements thwarted this waiting policy.

25. **transvecta aestas**: a Tacitean metaphor found only here and *Hist.* II. 76. See *Introd.* p. xxxvii. **numeri**: *detachments*, a post-Augustan military term.

26. **praesumpta . . . quies**: the *omissa expeditio* mentioned above, due probably to the absence of the legate Frontinus, who had returned to Rome in 77, led the soldiers to believe that they would enjoy a similar rest in the present year. — The three asyndetic groups constitute a climax, the increasing amplification corresponding to the relative importance of each statement. **tarda et contraria**: *all matters involving delays and obstacles.* The two terms are in apposition with the preceding clauses. — *tarda*, in a transitive sense, is poetic and is first found in Hor. *Sat.* I. 9, 32, but in prose apparently only here.

27. **suspecta**: i.e. regions suspected of hostile designs.

28. **potius**: *the best plan.* Our idiom requires the superlative, for *custodiri suspecta* or *ire obviam discrimini* was not the only alternative, but the comparative is often so used both in Greek and Latin: e.g. Pind. *Nem.* XI. 62; Prop. I. 2, 10; Tac. *Dial.* 35, 2; Juv. I. 19.

29. **vexillis**: i.e. the *sparsi numeri* mentioned above, detached from their legions and serving under their own standards, the *vexilla*, not the regular *signa* of the army to which they belonged.

30. **in aequum**: *into the plain.*

Page 13. 1. **ante agmen**: sc. *incedens.* On this means of encouragement, see ch. 35, 25; Caes. *B. G.* I. 25, 1; Sall. *Cat.* 59, 1.

2. **erexit aciem**: *led his army up the hill*, a military phrase common in Livy and Tacitus.

3. **non ignarus**, etc.: i.e. Agricola was not unmindful of the necessity, recognized by all great generals in history, that a victory must be quickly followed up. **prout prima cessissent** = *secundum primum eventum*, which might be defeat or victory, but the former contingency, as *terrorem* shows, is intentionally not taken into account, as being improbable in so great a general, while the subjunctive with *prout* is used to imply that Agricola himself was too confident of success to allow the other alternative to enter into his calculations.

4. **possessione**: *occupation*, the noun being derived from *possīdo*, not *possĭdeo*.

6. supra memoravi: viz. ch. 14, 12 ff.

7. ut in dubiis consiliis = *ut fit i. d. c.*, *as will happen in ill-matured plans*, *dubiis* being already in a measure implied in *animo intendit* as contrasted with *statuit* above. — On this elliptical *ut*, see note ch. 11, 1. **naves deerant**: owing to a straining after conciseness, the comparison is imperfectly expressed, the meaning being that as *in dubiis consiliis* the most essential things are apt to be lacking, so in this particular emergency there were no ships available. **ratio et constantia**: *generalship and determination.* On the ellipsis of *sed.* see *Introd.* p. xxxi; on the singular predicate, note ch. 4, 21.

8. lectissimos auxiliarium: *specially selected auxiliaries.* Probably British (see ch. 29, 27), for, if the Batavians in Agricola's army were meant (see ch. 36, 30), *lectissimos* would be out of place, as they were all known as good swimmers. Cp. *Hist.* IV. 12; *Ann.* II. 8; Dio Cass. LXIX. 9; *Anth. Lat.* II. 1, 427 B. **quibus nota vada, etc.**: *to whom the fords were known* (being natives) *and who possessed a special skill in swimming.* Both *nota* and *proprius* are used predicatively. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxv.

10. seque et: so invariably in Tacitus with pronouns and occasionally with nouns. The collocation is found neither in Cicero nor Caesar, but occurs in Sallust and Livy. **ita repente inmisit**: *ita* belongs to the verb, *tam* having to be supplied with *repente*, — *he sent them in such a manner and that suddenly.*

11. qui classem, qui navis, qui mare: a descending climax, strongly marked by anaphora. *mare*, i.e. *navigation*, as opposed to land travel. So e.g. Hor. *Carm.* II. 6, 7, *lasso maris et viarum;* Tibull. I. 3, 50. Translate: *who expected to see a fleet, or at least ships, or some kind of floating craft.*

12. crediderint: the so-called historical perfect subj. after *ut* is especially common in Tacitus and Suetonius.

14. clarus ac magnus haberi: a Sallustian expression; e.g. *Cat.* 53, 1; *Iug.* 92, 1. Also Plut. *Dem.* 18. **quippe cui** for the more usual *ut qui* does not occur elsewhere in Tacitus.

15. ingredienti: on the force of the present participle, see note ch. 9, 3.

16. officiorum ambitum: *official visits* in full regalia.

17. Nec: to be taken both with *usus* and *vocabat.* So *haud* in *Ann.* III. 11 is used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *intentior* and *permisit.*

18. victoriam vocabat victos: on the alliteration, cp. *Introd.* p. xxviii.

19. laureatis: sc. *litteris*. The laurel, being the symbol of martial victories, was sent with the official reports which commanders forwarded to the emperor. — The elliptical phrase seems to occur only here and *Hist.* III. 77.

20. famae famam: for a similar chiasmus, cp. *Ann.* I. 39, *legatus populi Romani Romanis in castris.* **aestimantibus**, etc.: i.e. people reasoned that a still greater future was in store for a man who could be reticent about achievements so noteworthy. — The construction is probably an elliptical dative rather than an ablat. abs.; see note ch. 34, 30.

21. tam magna: more emphatic than *tanta* and comparatively rare. — With the thought, cp. Justin. XI. 1, *ita moderate de se multa pollicitus est, ut adpararet plura eum experimentis reservare*, and *Ann.* II. 22, *de se nihil addit, metu invidiae an ratus conscientiam facto satis esse.*

Chapter 19. **22. animorum . . . prudens**: *well acquainted with the temper.*

23. doctus per aliena experimenta: *taught by the experience of others.* So *Dial.* 34, 16, *eruditus . . . alienis experimentis.* For the meaning of *experimentum*, see note ch. 16, 24.

24. excidere: *remove, eradicate.* Cp. Cic. *de prov. consul.* 18, 43, *tristissimum tempus . . . ex animo . . . excidere.* Surgical or medical metaphors are comparatively rare in Tacitus and elsewhere in Latin, except in Cicero, who had a peculiar fondness for them.

27. nihil, etc.: sc. *agere.* Such ellipses of a verb of doing or acting, though not unusual, are particularly frequent in Tacitus. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi. **publicae rei**: *public business.* So again *Germ.* 13, 30. In this sense, the adjective must precede, because *res publica* always has its restricted political meaning, but in other combinations with *res* in Tacitus, the attribute as a rule follows the noun. See *Introd.* p. xxvi.

29. ascire sed optimum . . . putare = *ascire sed optimum . . . ascire quia eum . . . putabat.* On the prolepsis, see *Introd.* p. xxx.

30. exsequi: i.e. while he kept himself informed of everything, he did not always *act upon* this knowledge. The word, as shown by *poena* below, cannot here signify *to punish*, a meaning, moreover, not found elsewhere in Tacitus, though common in Livy. With the statement itself, cp. *Introd.* p. xii. 2.

31. conmodare = *adhibere.* In this sense the verb seems not to occur elsewhere. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxvii.

32. nec poena . . . contentus esse: *he considered satisfaction attained not always by punishment, but more often by repentance.* — Observe the alliterative antithesis, on which see *Introd.* p. xxviii.

Page 14. **1. officiis et administrationibus**: *official functions.* Hendiadys.

2. peccassent: the iterative subjunctive, usually with *ubi*, *ut*, *si*, or *cum*, is extremely rare in pre-Augustan Latin. It becomes more frequent in Livy and Tacitus. **Frumenti et tributorum exactionem**: *the irksome impost of corn-taxes.*

3. aequalitate munerum mollire: *he endeavored to alleviate*, etc., *by an equalization of the burdens*, i.e. the same amount of corn was not demanded in those regions, which were relatively poor in corn production, some other tax being substituted. — On the accumulation of the historical infinitives, eight in all, see note ch. 5, 28. **circumcisis**, etc.: *doing away with the schemes devised for extortion,* viz. by former legates. In what these consisted, is explained in the following.

5 ff. Namque, etc.: the meaning of this much disputed passage seems to be this: In the districts poor in corn, the people were, as if in mockery, compelled to sit before the filled granaries which were not opened for them, but they were forced to buy provisions at a fancy price imposed by the covetous procurator; where there was plenty of corn, they were expected to carry their contributions to remote places, though a camp was in the immediate neighborhood. They were thus often induced to purchase exemption from so troublesome a task, the money going into the pockets of the officials.

6. ultro: *into the bargain.* **ludere pretio**: a phrase not found elsewhere, but perfectly correct and intelligible. The buying was a mere farce, because the officials set the purchase price without regard to the actual market value of the commodity.

7. devortia itinerum: *out-of-the-way roads.* The word is a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον, though its diminutive *deverticulum* is very common. This trick was a very old one, as it was practiced with success by Verres. — *itinerum* with *devortia* is superfluous, but it is added to balance *regionum*, the two terms corresponding chiastically to *remota* and *avia* below. — On the singular predicate, see note ch. 4, 21.

8. proximis hibernis: adversative ablative absolute.

9. quod omnibus in promptu, etc.: i.e. what was the poor man's only available commodity became a source of profit to a few officials. So similarly *omnes* = οἱ πάντες, here contrasted with *pauci* (= οἱ ὀλίγοι), as elsewhere with *principes*, *proceres*.

Chapter 20. **11. primo statim anno**: the autumn of 78 A.D. — On the phrase *primo statim*, see note ch. 3, 13.

12. famam paci circumdedit: the same metaphor occurs in *Dial.* 37, 28 and Περὶ ὕψους, 1, 3, ταῖς ἑαυτῶν περιέβαλον εὐκλείαις τὸν αἰῶνα. **intolerantia**: *intolerable insolence.* In this active sense, the word is comparatively rare. Cp. *Ann.* XI. 10.

14. aestas: i.e. 79 A.D. **multus in agmine**: sc. *adfuit.* A Graecism first used by Sall. *Iug.* 96, 3, *in agmine . . . multus adesse* (sc. *Sulla*) and thereafter occasionally in other writers.

15. modestiam = *modestos*, the abstract for the concrete, cp. ch. 16, 21. In its military sense synonymous with *obsequium*, and opposed to *discordia*, here expressed by *disiectos*, *stragglers from the ranks.* Observe the chiasmus.

16. aestuaria: marshy regions near the sea and under water at high tide. Unless the topography of Britain has undergone considerable changes, the present passage would indicate that Agricola's march was along the *west* coast. **praetemptare**: *explored in advance*, a poetic and post-Augustan phrase. Cp. Ov. *Met.* XIV. 189.

17. et nihil = *neque quidquam.* Cp. note ch. 16, 23. **interim**: *at the same time.* So frequently in Tacitus. **quietum pati**: cp. Sall. *Iug.* 66, 1, *nihil intactum neque quietum pati.* **quo minus** = *quin*, *but.* A good instance of the idiomatic use of hypotaxis, esp. frequent with *quominus* and *quin*, where we prefer coördination with an adversative conjunction. Cp. e.g. Ter. *Hecyr.* I. 1, 7; Liv. I. 42, 2; Tac. *Dial.* 3, 4.

18. popularetur: the absolute use of this verb is not uncommon in Tacitus, but as he never joins a *personal* object with it, we must supply in thought some phrase like *hostium agros.*

19. rursus: *on the other hand.* So used in twenty other passages in Tacitus. **incitamenta**: *incentives*, used on the analogy of *incitamenta belli* (*Ann.* XII. 42). Cp. ch. 32, 7, *incitamenta victoriae.*

20. ex aequo: *independently*, like the Greek ἐξ ἴσου, ἶσος being often used in a political sense.

21. praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, . . . ratione curaque:

on the collocation of abstract and concrete nouns, a peculiarly Tacitean usage, cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiv. — *circumdatae* is used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ; in its proper sense with *praesidiis*, etc., figuratively with *ratione*, etc. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii. — On the medial position of the verb, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

23. **pariter inlacessita**: *unmolested to a like degree*, i.e. the Britons were not subdued in pitched battles, Agricola arriving at the same result by a conciliatory policy. See the passage above (*nihil . . . ostentare*). — The verb seems to be a Tacitean coinage, and occurs again *Germ.* 36, 17.

24. **transierit**: sc. *ad Romanos.* For a similar absolute use, cp. Liv. XXVI. 12, 6, *ut qui civis . . . transisset* (of deserters).

Chapter 21. 25. **in bella faciles**: *faciles* with *in*, in place of *ad*, as also elsewhere in Tacitus, is found but rarely. With the similar expressions *pronus* and *promptus*, both *ad* and *in* are used in Tacitus.

27. **privatim . . . publice**: *personally . . . officially.* **templa**: a rhetorical plural, used for the sake of symmetry with *fora*, *domos*, for the temple to Claudius at Camulodunum seems to have been the only one in existence. Cp. note ch. 5, 4. — The cumulative force of the asyndeton well marks the eager haste of the Britons.

30. **ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum** = *ingenia et studia B. studiis et ingeniis G.* An instance of the so-called *comparatio compendiaria.* So exactly *Dial.* 1, 22, *qui nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniis anteferret;* cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi.

32. **eloquentiam**: *its literature*, a common meaning in post-Augustan writers. — The truth of this statement is fairly open to question. At all events, but a few Latin derivatives have survived in English from the time of the Roman occupation, as e.g. mile, port, street, wall, wine, -wick (*vicus*), -chester (*castra*). — Cp. also Juv. XV. 111, *Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos De conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thule.*

Page 15. 1. **habitus nostri honor**: *our dress became fashionable*, the verb, as usual after *inde*, being omitted. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi. **et frequens toga**: sc. *adspiciebatur*, *and as a result the toga was often seen.* On this epexegetic *et*, cp. note ch. 1, 5.

2. **delenimenta vitiorum**: *effeminate and profligate habits.* **porticus et . . . et**: the polysyndeton emphasizes each element in

the enumeration. See *Introd.* p. xxvii. **balineas**: e.g. at *Aquae Sulis*, the modern *Bath*. — These enervating luxuries are denounced by Boudicca ap. Dio Cass. LXII. 6, 4, εἴγε καὶ ἄνδρας χρὴ καλεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὕδατι θερμῷ λουομένους, ὄψε σκευαστὰ ἐσθίοντας, οἶνον ἄκρατον πίνοντας, μυρῷ ἀλειφομένους.

3. Idque: for *eaque.* So ch. 43, 8, *cura illud.* Regularly attracted in ch. 4, 3; 7, 8. **apud** = *inter.* So often. **imperitos**: *fools, the illiterate.*

4. pars = *argumentum, proof.* For this meaning, cp. *Hist.* II. 47; III. 46; IV. 86. With the thought, cp. *Hist.* IV. 64, *voluptatibus quibus Romani plus adversus subiectos quam armis valent*, and ch. 16, 25.

Chapter 22. **5. Tertius annus . . . aperuit**: 80 A.D. — With the personification, cp. note ch. 1, 2.

6. vastatis = *devastatis* is rarely applied to persons except in Tacitus. **Tanaum**: the location of this alleged estuary is undeterminable, except that it was in the west, and, as *novas gentes* shows, north of the territory of the Brigantes, and not far from the Clota (Clyde).

7. Qua formidine = *cuius cladis f.* — A very common brachylogical use of the pronoun, occurring as early as Plautus.

9. spatium: *time.* **Adnotabant**, etc.: the same is predicated of *Hannibal* (Liv. xxxv. 14, 9), of *Philopoemen* (id. xxxv. 28, 1), and of *Vespasian* (Tac. *Hist.* II. 5).

10. opportunitates locorum = *opportuna loca.* Cp. e.g. *Hist.* III. 34, *opportunitate fluminum* (= opportunis fluminibus).

11. aut . . . aut pactione ac fuga: *ac* is used for *aut* in the third member, because the two nouns form *one* group, opposed to *vi . . . expugnatum*, the former (*pactione*) preceding the actual attack of a besieging enemy, the latter (*fuga*) his arrival. With the collocation, cp. *Hist.* II. 37, *aut exercitus . . . aut legatos ac duces.*

13. nam, like *enim*, often implies an ellipsis. So far from sustaining any losses, the Romans frequently assumed the *offensive* (*crebrae eruptiones*), for they were well supplied with provisions, which rendered them secure against a protracted blockade.

14. intrepida: the winter passed without disturbance from the enemy. In this sense, the word is found in Tacitus only here.

15. inritis, of persons is poetic; in prose first in Vell. Pat. II. 63, 2.

16. soliti plerumque: a pleonasm of frequent occurrence; e.g. Lucret. II. 954; Caes. *B. C.* III. 8, 2; Sall. *Iug.* 7, 5. **eventibus**: here, *successes*. See note ch. 8, 30.

17. pensare (= *compensare*, which does not occur in Tacitus) is chiefly poetic and post-Augustan. **iuxta** = *pariter*, *aeque*. So used in six other passages of Tacitus, but in the smaller works only here.

18. Agricola, etc.: this seemingly irrelevant paragraph is added at this particular point in the narrative, because the above-mentioned successes were won at some distance from headquarters, and without the general's previous knowledge or upon his initiative, a fact utilized by the biographer to emphasize certain noteworthy qualities of Agricola, which this circumstance had revealed, and his readiness to bestow praise in turn naturally leads to a brief statement concerning his temper generally. Cp. *Introd.* p. xii.

19. centurio . . . praefectus: officers of the infantry and cavalry respectively. **inconruptum . . . testem habebat**: *used to find in him an impartial estimator* (*appraiser*) *of his deed*, *testis* being here used in a very peculiar sense; for this conduct was, of course, not confined to achievements which he actually witnessed, as is clear from the context.

20. Apud = *inter.* Cp. note ch. 21, 3.

21. et = *et vero*, *and in fact.* Cp. ch. 10, 12. **bonis . . . adversus malos**: on the change of construction, characteristic of Tacitus, see *Introd.* p. xxxiv. **iniucundus**: not elsewhere used in Tacitus, and very rarely applied to persons; e.g. Quint. X. 1, 124. — With the statement, cp. Xen. *Ages.* 11, 10, *πραότατός γε μὴν φίλοις ὤν, ἐχθροῖς φοβερώτατος ἦν.*

22. secretum, etc.: i.e. unlike e.g. Domitian (ch. 39, 17; 42, 20) and Tiberius (*Ann.* I. 69, *odia in longum iaciens quae reconderet auctaque promeret*), he gave expression to his indignation when in anger, but did not secretly cherish any further resentment. **ut . . . timeres**: for the subjunctive, cp. ch. 12, 31, *ut internoscas.*

23. offendere . . . odisse: on the alliterative antithesis, cp. *Introd.* p. xxviii.

Chapter 23. **25. Quarta aestas**: i.e. 81 A.D. **obtinendis**: the final dative with gerundive is very rare in the minor works. Cp. ch. 22, 9; 31, 11; 45, 22, and *Germ.* 11, 4.

27. pateretur: on the singular predicate, see note ch. 4, 21. —

The imperfect is here used for the pluperfect, because the Roman principle of completely subjugating what was in reach still held good. **inventus**: sc. *erat*, not *esset*, for, although the subjunctive of *esse* is frequently omitted, when another subjunctive has preceded (cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii.), the rhetorical use of the indicative in the apodosis of conditional clauses contrary to fact is one of the characteristic features of Tacitean syntax. Here it marks an emphatic contrast to the unreality of the protasis, which in all like instances, except *Hist.* IV. 19, precedes.

28. Clota et Bodotria: the *Friths* of *Clyde* and *Forth*, the line itself stretching approximately from *Greenock* (near Glasgow) to *Edinburgh*. **diversi**: *opposite*. See note ch. 11, 8. **per inmensum** = *per magnum spatium*. Such expressions are exceedingly common in Tacitus. See note ch. 10, 13.

29. spatio: *strip*. About 70 miles.

30. omnis propior sinus: *the entire stretch of territory nearer to us*, i.e. the southern portions previously occupied by the Romans. For a similar meaning of *sinus*, here including the west coast and part of the interior, cp. *Germ.* 37, 26.

31. velut in aliam insulam: *aliam* skillfully marks the transition to the next chapter, dealing with Ireland. If Caledonia had been meant here, Tacitus would have said *velut in insulam*. With *firmavit* and *tenebatur* the author indicates that the Caledonian campaign in the west was satisfactorily closed, and, as a matter of fact, the subsequent scene of the conflict is shifted to the east.

Chapter 24. **32. Quinto . . . anno**: 82 A.D. **nave prima transgressus**: *crossing over* (viz. to Ireland) *for the first time with a fleet*. If, as is generally assumed, the fleet coasted northward along the shore, *transgressus* would be out of place. *Prima* is here, as often, e.g. *Germ.* 43, 5, used adverbially, and its position, while bringing it in juxtaposition with the verb, at the same time emphasizes the significance of the achievement. The name Ireland occurs first in Pytheas; Caes. *B. G.* 13, 2, also mentions the island, and subsequently many references to it, often curious, occur, but it cannot be said to have been definitely known till the time of Ptolemaeus, the famous geographer of the second century A.D. Agricola, if we except occasional traders, seems to have been, in fact, the first Roman to set foot upon Ireland, nor was it again invaded in Roman times. The point of departure cannot be accurately determined. See map.

Page 16. **1. ignotas ad id tempus gentis**: so similarly ch. 10, 17, a much more emphatic phrase than the one referring to the Caledonians in ch. 22, 5. **crebris . . . domuit**: Cp. what is said of the equally unsuccessful invasion of Britain by Caesar, ch. 13, 17 ff. — On the position of *simul*, see note ch. 6, 23, and *Introd.* p. xxvi.

2. eamque: *-que* in joining sentences never adds entirely unrelated ideas, hence the first paragraph cannot refer to the Caledonians.

3. adspicit: for the more usual *spectat*, probably because Ireland is actually visible from some parts of the English coast. **copiis instruxit**: if this paragraph pertained to a campaign against the Caledonians, Agricola would have protected his rear after his return. If, on the other hand, he garrisoned the place with a view to a subsequent, *second* expedition to Ireland, it was a proper and necessary strategic measure. **in spem**: i.e. he hoped to reinvade and conquer Ireland some day, when better equipped for the task, the difficulty of which he probably underestimated. Cp. ll. 13 ff. **ob formidinem**: This phrase shows that *in spem* cannot refer, as is universally assumed, to a contemplated invasion, destined never to be realized, for in that case, there would have been no conceivable reason for apprehending an attack from a hitherto unknown and unmolested island. — On the change of the preposition, see ch. 5, 1.

5. opportuna: *easily accessible, favorably situated.*

6. magnis in vicem usibus = *m. et mutuis usibus.* On the adjectival use of the adverb and its position, see note ch. 10, 8.

7. miscuerit: *shall have united*, i.e. when subdued. In this more general sense the verb is common in Tacitus, but comparatively rare elsewhere. **angustius**: an understatement.

8. nostri maris: i.e. the Mediterranean, a term which seems not to occur before Solinus (250 A.D.). **superat**: Ireland, with an area of 32,337 square miles, exceeds Sicily, the largest island in the Mediterranean, by 22,401 square miles.

9. ingenia cultusque . . . differunt: observe the symmetrical grouping with *solum caelumque.* The same phrase occurs in Mela, II. 1, 9, *ingenia cultusque gentium differunt.* — The statement itself is at variance with the accounts given by earlier writers, e.g. Strabo, IV. 5, 4; Mela, III. 6. **a Britannia** = *a solo caeloque et ingeniis cultuque Britannorum*, an instance of *comparatio compendiaria.* Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi.

10. per conmercia et negotiatores: probably British traders,

but their information, as in the case of the *mercatores* questioned by Caesar, was of a very unsatisfactory description. — On the collocation of an abstract and concrete noun, see *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

13. **in occasionem**: i.e. he was retained as a useful informant for a contemplated second expedition. **ex eo**: sc. *Agricola*, not *regulo*, for Tacitus could not have met this Irish chieftain. — This, ch. 4, 15, and ch. 44, 30 are the only passages in this treatise in which Agricola is directly cited as one of Tacitus's sources of information.

14. **legione una et modicis auxiliis**: the chiasmus emphasizes *una* and *modicis*, and thus gives additional force to Agricola's sanguine conviction in the matter. **debellari**: a poetic word, occurring first in Vergil.

15. **adversus . . . profuturum**: *would redound to the advantage of*. The preposition expresses merely *relation towards*, the hostile or friendly sense being given by the context (*profuturum*), a usage more common in Tacitus than in previous writers.

16. **arma**: sc. *essent*. On the ellipsis of the subjunctive of *esse*, especially when another subjunctive is added, see *Introd.* p. xxxii.

Chapter 25. 18. **Ceterum**: a particle often used by Tacitus on the resumption of a subject after a digression, for the brief account of the unsuccessful expedition to Ireland is of that nature. **sextum . . . annum**: 83 A.D.

20. **ultra**: used as an adjective; cp. note ch. 10, 8.

22. **primum adsumpta in partem virium**: i.e. Agricola now for the first time used this fleet as an integral part of his forces. *primum* must not be too closely pressed, for, if we take it in the sense of *tunc primum*, the statement would be at variance with ch. 24, 22; if understood to mean that he was the first Roman governor of Britain to do so, the assertion is also questionable. For a similarly loose use of *primus*, cp. Lucret. V. 336 f.; Hor. *Carm.* III. 30, 13; *Epist.* I. 6, 48.

Observe how in the following paragraph (ll. 23–31) the style at once assumes a rhetorical coloring in passing from plain narrative to vivid description, here seen in the use of *anaphora* (ll. 23. 25 f. 27), *libration of clauses* (ll. 26 f.), *poetic* or *peculiar phrases* (ll. 23. 25. 26. 28. 31), and *oxymoron* (ll. 30 f.).

23. **egregia specie**: sc. *res*. Ablative of quality with the usual ellipsis. **simul . . . simul**: a Vergilian correlation, found in Livy and often in Tacitus. **bellum impelleretur**: the verb belongs

strictly speaking only to *mari*, and is joined to *terra* by a slight zeugma. The phrase is poetic and occurs only here.

24. castris: on the ablative of place where, see note ch. 12, 4. **pedes equesque**: *the army*, the two terms joined by *-que* forming one group, to which *et* adds *nauticus miles, the navy*. Cp. note ch. 12, 3.

25. copiis et laetitia: *joyfully sharing their rations*. On the collocation of the concrete and abstract, see *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

26. adtollerent: sc. *laudibus, praised to the skies*. With this meaning the absolute use of the verb is poetic, but very common in Tacitus. **modo . . . adversa**: observe the symmetrical libration.

27. hinc . . . hinc: for *inde* (viz. *pedes equesque*) . . . *hinc* (viz. *nauticus miles*). This correlation is also Vergilian. **militari iactantia**, etc.: the passage bears a remarkable resemblance to Lucan, *Phars.* IV. 196 ff., *et miles castris permixtus . . . concordes caespite mensas Instituunt . . . Extrahit insomnis bellorum fabula noctes Quo primum steterint campo, quo lancea dextra Exierit, dum quae gesserunt fortia, iactant.* Cp. also *Hist.* II. 21; *Ann.* II. 24.

29. Britannos quoque: this is slightly illogical, owing to a desire for conciseness, for the Romans of course were not stupefied at the sight of the fleet, but were on the contrary inspired with enthusiasm.

30. tamquam: *believing as they did*. Cp. note ch. 15, 19. **aperto . . . secreto . . . clauderetur**: *by opening up the unknown parts of the sea . . . they closed.* — The oxymoron is very effective, special attention being directed to it by the respective positions of the contrasted terms. — With the following paragraph Tacitus returns to the narrative style.

32. manus et arma: the more specific term added to the generic, on which see *Introd.* p. xxx. — Observe the ellipsis of *igitur*. Cp. ch. 13, 15 (nam) *has*.

Page 17. **1. paratu magno, maiore fama**, etc.: on the chiasmus, see *Introd.* p. xxviii. — The thought seems to be a commonplace. Cp. ch. 30, 25; *Ann.* III. 44, *cuncta, ut mos famae, in maius credita*, and Thucyd. VI. 34, 7. — *paratu* = *adparatu*, in the smaller works only here.

3. citra: *beyond*. Here in its regular, local sense, cp. note ch. 1, 12.

4. quam = *quam ut* after *magis, potius*, etc. is found as early as Plautus and Terence. In Tacitus only here and in six passages of the *Annals*. **prudentium** = *prudentiae*. Cp. note ch. 4, 11.

5. cognoscit: sc. *Agricola*. The subject is easily supplied, because the report of the council of war (*regrediendum . . . admonebant*) necessarily implies the presence of the commanding general. **pluribus** = *compluribus*, a confusion first met with in [Caes.] *Bell. Africanum*. In Tacitus it occurs sporadically in the minor works, more frequently in the *Histories* and the *Annals*.

6. superante numero . . . circumiretur: *lest he be surrounded, owing to the enemies' superior numbers, and put at a disadvantage by reason of their knowledge of the territory.* — *numero* is an instrumental, *peritia* a causal ablative, *circumiretur* being used, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, in its regular sense with *numero*, figuratively with *peritia*. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii.

7. diviso et ipse . . . exercitu: *et ipse*, *likewise*; for that the enemy could attack him from three sides, the north, west, and south, it was not necessary to point out expressly. — *et ipse* is a favorite phrase in Tacitus. For its peculiar position, cp. e.g. *Germ.* 37, 12, *amisso et ipse Pacŏro*; *Hist.* III. 82; *Ann.* IV. 56.

Chapter 26. **10. maxime invalidam**: all but exterminated by the followers of Boudicca (ch. 16), in 61 A.D., it was subsequently reënforced.

11. inter . . . inrupere: i.e. after killing the sentries they burst in right among the sleeping soldiers, thus creating a panic. — *inter*: *in the midst, during*, so frequently. — *ac* is epexegetic. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxx. — *inrupere*: sc. *castra*. The absolute use is exceedingly common in Tacitus, but in the minor works only here and ch. 25, 6.

13. edoctus: with the accusative, first in Sallust (*Cat.* 45, 1), thereafter frequent. **vestigiis insecutus**: such an ablative of place with verbs of motion, without an accusative or genitive, is especially common in Livy and Tacitus.

16. clamorem; et . . . signa: observe the force of *et*, *and then*. Particularly analogous, Tac. *Hist.* III. 24, and, after an asyndeton, as here, *Ann.* I. 25, *murmur incertum, atrox clamor et repente quies.* Cp. *Introd.* p. xxviii.

18. securi pro: for the more usual *de* occurs in Tac. *Hist.* IV. 58, and is not rare elsewhere. It is here used because of a *de* following. — Similar antitheses are frequent; e.g. Caes. *B. C.* III. 111, 5; Sall. *Iug.* 114, 2; Liv. XXI. 41, 13; Dem. *Olyn.* I. 5. **certabant**: in Tacitus always with *de*, except *Hist.* III. 1. **quin etiam**: in Tacitus always postpositive, except *Dial.* 29, 16, and *Ann.* XII. 61. No other

instance of anastrophe of the conjunction happens to occur in this treatise, but it is exceedingly common in the larger works.

22. Quod nisi: cp. note ch. 16, 13.

Chapter 27. **24. Cuius**: sc. *victoriae*. **fama**: with reference to that part of the army which had not engaged in this battle.

27. fremebant: the plural, because of the twofold aspect under which the army is viewed, as indicated by *conscientia* and *fama*, for, although Tacitus frequently has a plural predicate with a number of collective nouns, such as *plebs*, *multitudo*, *pars*, and the like, *exercitus* seems not to be so used by him, although the term occasionally includes several legions. **illi**: sc. *ignavi specie prudentium* (ch. 25, 4).

28. prompti post eventum: *became belligerent* (*aggressive*) *after the successful turn of affairs*.

29. prospera . . . imputantur: a commonplace. Cp. Sall. *Iug.* 53, 8; Tac. *Hist.* IV. 52; *Ann.* III. 53.

31. occasione et arte: *by a tricky surprise* or *coup*. For this meaning of *occasio*, cp. Caes. *B. G.* VII. 45, 9, *occasionis rem esse non proelii*, and for the use of *ars* in a bad sense, which is here required by the contrast with *virtute* and the context itself, cp. e.g. ch. 9, 16; *Dial.* 11, 14; *Hist.* I. 5; *Ann.* I. 73.

32. quo minus for *quin* is esp. common in T. Cp. ch. 20, 17.

Page 18. **2. coetibus . . . sancirent**: observe the alliteration (with *c* and *s*) throughout. — *sacrificiis* is added to define *coetibus* more closely, the offerings to the gods characterizing the solemnity and seriousness of these meetings. **conspirationem**: *conspiracy*, from the Roman point of view, not *union* or *compact*, for the word is not used by Tacitus in this colorless and indefinite sense, though it is common enough elsewhere, e.g. in Cicero.

3. atque ita . . . discessum: so *Ann.* XIII. 56, *atque ita infensis utrimque animis discessum*.

Chapter 28. **4. eadem aestate**: 83 A.D. — See ch. 25, 18. On Tacitus's object in telling the story of this adventure, which a modern writer would probably have given in a footnote, see *Introd.* p. xiv. **Usiporum**: a German tribe who in Tacitus's time were close neighbors of the Tencteri dwelling on the Rhine, near the modern Mayence. They were in all probability subdued in the early part of the year by

Domitian in his war against the Chatti, and immediately sent as auxiliaries to the British legions.

5. **magnum ac memorabile**: an exceedingly frequent alliterative collocation, occurring as early as Ter. *Heaut.* 314.

6. **facinus**: *deed*, a so-called *vocabulum medium* like *eventus* and *valetudo*, the context or some attributive determining whether it is used in a good or bad sense. **Occiso centurione et militibus**: observe the singular predicate with two subjects, the verb usually preceding in such cases. This is particularly frequent in ablative absolutes, the predicate here agreeing with the nearer noun. *militibus:* sc. *legionariis.* These drill-masters of recruits — the Usipi had been but recently conscribed — were technically known as *doctores campi*, and were selected from the most experienced veterans. Dio Cass. LXVI. 20 speaks of the murder of a tribune and centurions.

7. **exemplum et rectores**: the personal noun joined to the abstract, on which see *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

8. **habebantur**: *were employed.* In this and kindred uses of *habere* Tacitus seems to have followed Sallust. **liburnicas**: sc. *naves*, the full form occurring only twice in Tacitus, viz. *Hist.* II. 16; III. 12. They were light war vessels, with only two banks of oars, and carried a mast amidships. The pattern, long, narrow, pointed at both ends, was taken from the Liburnians, a piratical tribe on the coast of Dalmatia.

9. **ascendere**: the point of departure cannot be determined. It may have been Uxellodunum, the modern Ellenborough, near Maryport, on the Cumberland coast, or more probably Galloway. See map.

10. **nondum vulgato rumore**, etc.: i.e. the news of their defection had not yet spread, so that those who saw them were at a loss to understand either their sudden appearance or their destination.

11. **praevehebantur**: Tacitus elsewhere uses *prae* for *praeter* in this and similar verbal compounds, but here it is perhaps best taken in its regular sense, signifying their helpless drifting along, the want of pilots placing them at the mercy of wind and wave.

12. **utilia**: sc. *cetera*, *other necessaries of life.* On the ellipsis, see note ch. 6, 29.

15. **vescerentur**: with the accusative, like *fungor* (*Ann.* III. 2), *potior* (*Ann.* XI. 10), is rare and archaic, but found e.g. Sall. *Hist. fragm.* 25 K. and Tib. II. 5, 64.

16. **circumvecti**: Dio Cass. l.c. makes them sail around Britain from east to west, thus excluding their reaching the continent.

18. Suebis . . . Frisiis: *Suebi*, according to Tac. *Germ.* 38, was a collective designation for many tribes who occupied the greater part of Germany and led a more or less nomadic life; hence their name, which means *wanderers*. A Suebic offshoot was settled by Augustus in Flanders, and these are the people probably alluded to here. The *Frisii* occupied the territory a little to the southwest, stretching from the eastern mouth of the Rhine to the Ems.

19. in nostram usque ripam: i.e. the left bank of the Rhine. This proves that Tacitus conceived the Usipi to have sailed from the west around Scotland, for on any other supposition the adventurers would have reached the Roman boundary before they were shipwrecked and captured by the more northern Suebi and Frisians. **mutatione ementium**: *commercial exchange.*

20. inlustravit: the indicative after *sunt qui* occurs occasionally in poetry, but is extremely rare in prose. In Tacitus again *Dial.* 37, 27, *sunt apud quos . . . meretur.* Here a certain number of the Usipi are specially singled out from the rest.

Chapter 29. **21. Initio aestatis**: the seventh summer, 84 A.D. **ictus . . . amisit**: strict logic would require *ictus est*, *filio amisso*, but the participle and finite verb have a tendency to interchange their functions, particularly when the two acts are virtually coincident. The construction is a Graecism; e.g. Xen. *Anab.* IV. 8, 25; Pind. *Nem.* VIII. 38. Frequently in Latin poetry, e.g. Lucret. V. 514; Hor. *Carm.* III. 6, 33; Lucan, VII. 581, but in prose ch. 5, 24, and *Ann.* IV. 64 seem to be the only other analogous instances.

23. plerique fortium virorum ambitiose: i.e. unlike many brave men, Agricola did not ostentatiously display his sorrow, *ambitiose* being often used in this sense. Hitherto *plerique fortium virorum*, etc., was taken in an *ironical* sense, with direct reference to the Stoics, but this is incompatible with the antithesis in *muliebriter*, nor does Tacitus elsewhere ridicule the Stoics for not practicing the ἀταραξία which they preached. On this truly Roman attitude, cp. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* II. 21, 49; Lucan, VIII. 617, and Tac. *Ann.* III. 6. **per lamenta . . . maerorem**: words denoting pain or sorrow are frequently combined in synonymic groups. Here the first more particularly expresses open, the second silent sorrow.

24. in luctu bellum, etc.: a similar conduct is attributed to Alexander (Plut. *Alex.* 72) and Tiberius (*Ann.* IV. 8). **rursus** = *on the other hand.* See note ch. 20, 19.

25. **pluribus** = *compluribus* and below, l. 8, on which usage see note ch. 25, 5.

26. **incertum**: because the enemy never knew where the Romans might strike next.

27. **fortissimos et longa pace exploratos**: best taken as referring to two classes of natives. Agricola chose those British auxiliaries who had proved themselves specially brave. To these he added some others from the long since pacified tribes of southern Britain, whose loyalty had been tested and who had but recently been conscribed. The traditional interpretation, identifying the two, involves a contradiction, for fortitude is incompatible with *longa pax*. See ch. 11, 15 ff.

28. **montem Graupium**: the site of this famous battle cannot be determined, largely owing to the vagueness which generally characterizes the topographical description of battles in ancient historians. See note below, ch. 36, 26, and *Introd.* p. xvi.

Page 19. 2. **pugnae prioris**: cp. ch. 26, 12 ff. **expectantes**: *looked to*, in a general sense, without implying a hope to be realized, which would not suit *servitium*.

3. **tandem docti**, etc.: cp. note ch. 12, 24.

4. **legationibus et foederibus**: the *et* is epexegetic, the two terms standing in causal relation. — The solemn compact, mentioned ch. 27, 2, must therefore, as *legationibus* here implies, be understood of other tribes in the immediate neighborhood, if not actually of various clans of one and the same tribe.

5. **super triginta milia**: on the indefinite number, see note ch. 37, 12. On the size of Agricola's forces, see ch. 35, 12 ff.

6. **adhuc** = *in addition to these*, ἐπὶ τούτοις. So frequently used in Quintilian and Tacitus, but rarely elsewhere. **armatorum**: the regular army. To these are added, in view of the emergency, the *veterani* and the *iuvenes ingenui*, probably those who had not yet gone through the solemn investiture with arms at the folk-moot or assembly, on which see Tac. *Germ.* 13, 32; 20, 29. **adfluebat**: a Vergilian phrase, e.g. *Aen.* II. 796, *ingentem comitum adfluxisse . . . numerum.*

7. **cruda ac viridis senectus**: another Vergilian expression, taken from *Aen.* VI. 304, *Iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.*

8. **decora gestantes**: cp. what Tac. *Germ.* 31 says of the veteran warriors among the Chatti. That such decorations were also worn by Roman soldiers may be seen from *Hist.* III. 10.

9. praestans nomine Calgacus: *when one Calgacus by name, distinguished among the several chieftains.* The phrase *nomine Calgacus*, equivalent to Greek τις, is apparently an exclusively Tacitean expression and is used by him very often, but only in the case of non-Romans. — *Calgacus* owes his immortality to this solitary mention.

10. in hunc modum locutus fertur: other introductory *formulae* are e.g. *orasse fertur*, *his ferme verbis*, *in hanc sententiam*. Here, and again *Hist.* I. 15, *two* are combined, evidently to emphasize the wholly fictitious character of these two speeches. The harangue of Agricola, on the other hand, is by way of contrast introduced by *ita disseruit.* See note ch. 33, 24. On the nature and object of Calgacus's speech, see *Introd.* p. xv.

Chapter 30. **12** ff. As a rhetorical masterpiece, this speech has few equals in ancient historiography. Among the conspicuous features of its artistic construction attention may be drawn to the following: *Anaphora* (30, 1; 31, 14; 32, 7. 20), *polysyndeta* (30, 15; 31, 18. 25; 32, 21), *asyndeta* (30, 26 f. 3; 31, 23; 32, 10. 15 f. 18), *antithesis* (30, 17. 1. 2; 31, 6 f. 9 f. 13. 15 f. 21; 32, 1. 20), *synonymic combinations and fullness of expression* (31, 11 f.; 32, 5. 11. 20), *libration of clauses* (30, 15 f. 17 f. 1 f.; 31, 9 ff. 15. 20 f.; 32, 29. 1. 7 f. 15), *poetic and epigrammatic expressions* (30, 17. 19. 22 f. 24. 25. 1 f. 4 f.; 31, 12. 14. 16 f. 20 f. 27 f.; 32, 1. 3. 5. 6. 9. 10 ff. 13 f.), and, above all, it should be observed that the three qualities which, according to Cicero, are essential to an artistic style, namely, symmetry of collocation, euphony, and rhythm, are all in evidence in this speech, the two most favored rhythmical *clausulae*, namely, the *ditrochaeus* (— ⏑ — ⏒) and the *cretic* (— ⏑ — — ⏒ or — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏓), being also specially frequent. For the former, cp. 30, 1. 3; 31, 7. 9. 12. 13 f.; 32, 1. 5. 7. 24; for the latter, cp. 30, 14. 17. 23. 30; 31, 19; 32, 17. 22.

12. causas belli: the chief of these is the insatiable avarice of the Romans. See below, ll. 29 ff. 15, 16 ff. **necessitatem**: *our present plight.*

13. animus = *spes.* So similarly *Hist.* II. 46, *bonum haberet animum.* **hodiernum diem**: the curious tautology in this extremely common phrase may perhaps be reproduced by translating: *this selfsame day.*

14. initium libertatis, etc.: a sentiment very common in speeches of this nature. Cp. *Ann.* XII. 34, *illum diem . . . aut reciperandae libertatis aut servitutis aeternae initium fore*, the latter alternative

being here shrewdly reserved for the close (ch. 32, 22), when the speaker could feel that his words had taken effect.

15. nullae ultra terrae: cp. note ch. 10, 8, *nullis contra terris.* Supply *positae.* **nam**, etc.: in this clause *universi . . . terrae* explains the speaker's hope of victory, *ne mare . . . Romana* accounts for *necessitatem nostram.*

16. securum = *tutus*, not *sine cura*, occurs in Livy and post-Augustan writers, but is generally rare. **inminente . . . Romana**: Tacitus is fond of ending a period with an ablative absolute. See *Introd.* p. xxvii.

17. proelium atque arma: on this fullness of expression, cp. note ch. 25, 32.

19. pugnae: Tacitus frequently personifies *pugna*, *bellum*, and the like.

20. spem ac subsidium: an instance of Tacitean conciseness. The former encounters with the Romans were not sufficiently decisive to discourage the Britons from trying conclusions at another time with better *hope* of victory, nor did the enemy on any of the occasions mentioned prevent them from retreating in good order to a place of *safety*, when in imminent danger of defeat. The whole passage is a skillful euphemism for the ill success which had hitherto attended their efforts to expel the invaders. — On the abstract and concrete combined, cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

21. eoque in ipsis penetralibus: *penetralia* denotes the innermost shrine in a temple. So Caledonia is here, by a bold metaphor, represented as the most sacred spot of Britain, the *nobilitas* being given as the reason (*eoque*) why they were thus honored. Such boasts of superiority are often referred to, e.g. *Germ.* 39, *vetustissimos nobilissimosque Sueborum Semnones memorant.*

22. servientium for *servitudinis.* Cp. note ch. 4, 11. The reference is to Gaul, which was supposed to be visible from more points of Britain than is possible now. Cp. note ch. 10, 7 f., and map.

23. terrarum ac libertatis extremos: an abstract noun joined to the concrete, *extremos* being used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ; in its regular local sense with the first, figuratively with the second. See *Introd.* p. xxxii. So again *recessus ipse*, a local phrase, refers to the former, *sinus famae*, taken figuratively, to the latter. — The *ac*, *in consequence*, is epexegetic. See ch. 26, 11, and *Introd.* p. xxx.

24. sinus famae: refers not to mere remoteness, a signification which *sinus*, albeit a word of varied meanings, never has; nor would

mere distance be an obstacle to rumor for '*non aliud velocius*,' but the Britons remained virtually unknown, because their seclusion and isolation allowed only vague rumors of their existence to reach the outside world. Translate: *Our very seclusion and this retired nook which only rumor reaches.* Both of these facts are again emphasized, ch. 31, 20.

25. **omne ignotum pro magnifico**: with the sentiment, cp. ch. 25, 1. The present epigram and the one closing the chapter have acquired a special celebrity.

26. **nulla iam ultra gens**: this had been true before, but now it had become known to the Romans.

27. **infestiores**: *and the yet more terrible.*

28. **per obsequium ac modestiam**: *obedience and submission.* A frequent collocation, e.g. ch. 42, 25.

29. **effugeris**: potential subjunctive. **Raptores**, etc.: the same taunt — a rhetorical commonplace in barbarian speeches — is put in the mouth of Mithridates by Sall. *Hist. fragm.* IV. 19 (20), 22. Cp. also the address of the Scythians before Alexander, in Curt. VII. 8, 34, 19, *tu omnium gentium latro es.*

30. **iam et**: so invariably in Tacitus for *iam etiam*. See note ch. 15, 3. **mare scrutantur**: an intentional exaggeration, the sea serving the Romans, of course, only as a means to an end. — The same phrase occurs in *Germ.* 45, 11.

Page 20. 1. **locuples . . . ambitiosi**: *if the enemy be rich, they exact tribute; if he be poor, they exact homage.*

2. **satiaverit**: clause of characteristic. With the thought, cp. Sall. *Hist. fragm.* IV. 17, *an ignoras Romanos postquam ad Occidentem pergentibus finem Oceanus fecit, arma huc* (sc. in Orientem) *convertisse.* **omnium**: best taken with *soli*. Cp. *Germ.* 45, 12; *Hist.* I. 48; Cic. *de orat.* III. 18, 65; Mart. IV. 2, 1.

3. **auferre, trucidare, rapere**: *robbery, massacre, plunder.* — Such asyndeta are common in Tacitus, e.g. ch. 37, 27; *Hist.* II. 12, *urere, vastare, rapere; Ann.* IV. 25, *trahi, occidi, capi.*

5. **pacem adpellant**: sc. *eam solitudinem factam.* Cp. also *Hist.* I. 37, *dum falsis nominibus . . . supplicia et contumelias vestras disciplinam adpellat.* — This euphemism was much affected by the Romans, being all but adopted as the official designation for conquest.

Chapter 31. **7. voluit** = *decrevit*. So often; with *natura* personified, e.g. Val. Max. VII. 1, 1; Quint. X. 3, 4. **alibi**: *somewhere or other*, not *elsewhere*, for Calgacus cannot have meant to exclude the British auxiliaries in Britain itself. See note on *aliquis* (ch. 38, 19). British cohorts are found e.g. in the armies of Caecina and Vitellius, at the second battle of Bedriacum, in Pannonia, and elsewhere, as we learn from Tacitus's *Histories* and inscriptions.

8. hostilem = *hostium*. Tacitus often substitutes this and other adjectives for the genitive. Subjective as here, e.g. *Ann.* XIII. 57, *minae hostiles; Hist.* III. 77, *clamore hostili*. Cp. also note *Dial.* 29, 21.

9. nomine amicorum atque hospitum: the thought is slightly obscured by overconciseness, the implication being that the victims were by the false professions of friendship and hospitality first thrown off their guard and then dishonored.

10. ager atque annus: *their yearly harvest*; *annus* alone in this sense occurs first in Cic. *Verr.* I. 1, 14, 40. In prose again *Germ.* 14, 1, but often in post-Augustan epic poetry, e.g. Lucan. III. 70; Stat. *Theb.* IX. 406. *Ager* is here added for the sake of balancing the five other groups of virtually synonymous expressions in this one sentence. **in frumentum**, etc.: with the sentiment, an oratorical commonplace, cp. ch. 19, 2 ff., and the speech of Boudicca in Dio Cass. LXII. 3.

11. emuniendis: *in the clearing*. **atque . . . ac . . . ac . . . ac**: such accumulations of *ac* are extremely rare in Latin. Cp. note *Dial.* 17, 28.

12. inter verbera ac contumelias: *contumelia* has here the concrete and restricted meaning of *cuffs in the face*, *alapae*, as distinguished from the generic term *verbera*, *blows*. Cp. *Hist.* III. 31, *praeberi os contumeliis*; 85, *erigere os et offerre contumeliis*. On the combination, see *Introd.* p. xxx. — *inter*, i.e. alternating between. So similarly, ch. 32, 19; *Hist.* I. 1, *inter infensos vel obnoxios*. **conteruntur**: used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, figuratively with *bona fortunaeque* and *ager atque annus*, in its usual sense with *corpora . . . manus*. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii. It is, therefore, not necessary to supply *consumuntur* by zeugma. **nata servituti**: so e.g. Cic. *de prov. cons.* 5, 10 for the regular *nasci ad*.

13. semel veneunt, etc.: cp. the words put into the mouth of Boudicca by Dio Cass. l.c., πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἦν ἅπαξ τισὶ πεπρᾶσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κενῶν ἐλευθερίας ὀνομάτων κατ' ἔτος λυτροῦσθαι, evidently

another rhetorical commonplace in speeches of this kind. **ultro**: *moreover*, *in the bargain.* So often.

14. Britannia: on the ellipsis of *sed*, see *Introd.* p. xxxi. **emit . . . pascit**: refer respectively to *tributum* and *frumentum* (l. 10). Calgacus says with bitter sarcasm that the Britons are daily paying for the privilege of being Roman slaves, instead of having their masters, if servitude it must be, care for them.

15. sicut in familia: somewhat inconsistently with true portraiture of character, the speaker is made to allude to purely Roman conditions, of which he could not have had any knowledge. But such inaccuracies are frequent in the speeches of ancient historians. In Tacitus, e.g. ch. 15, 32. 5; 30, 2; 32, 32; *Hist.* I. 30. Observe also that this simile makes Calgacus forget the statements made in ch. 30, 15. 22 ff. — *sicut . . . sic*, for *sicut* (*ut*) . . . *ita*, also *Hist.* I. 84. — On the brachylogical character of the simile, see *Introd.* p. xxxiii.

17. novi nos et viles: i.e. while we cannot expect to escape the usual treatment experienced by newly acquired slaves, we are, moreover, held so worthless a lot, that our masters will not stop short of extermination to get rid of us again.

19. exercendis = *to engage upon.* This clause gives the reasons for *viles.* We are not a paying investment to the Romans, says the speaker, for we have no arable land, no mines, no harbors, upon which we can be put to work. In this sense, with inanimate objects, *exercere* is poetic and post-Augustan, but comparatively rare. Cp. *Hist.* II. 82. **porro**: on the other hand what we do possess is equally obnoxious to the Romans, though on other grounds (*longinquitas*, etc.).

20. longinquitas . . . tutius: a restatement, in different form, of ch. 30, 23–25.

21. suspectius: *the more dangerous.* For this sense, cp. e.g. Liv. XXI. 7, 7. Their distance and seclusion made them more formidable, as the Romans had no means to determine the real strength and the purposes of the Britons and — *omne ignotum pro magnifico* (ch. 30, 25).

22. sumite animum: *muster up your courage.* In this sense first, and only once, in Livy, viz. VI. 23, 3.

23. Brigantes: Petilius won some moderate successes against them, see note ch. 17, 8. They are not mentioned elsewhere in connection with the uprising under Boudicca, but Calgacus is here made

to refer to them, because they were the most powerful and most numerous tribal confederacy in Britain (l.c.), and, as the nearest neighbors of the Caledonians, better known to the latter than Boudicca's followers.

24. **coloniam**: i.e. *Camulodunum*. Cp. ch. 16, 12. **In socordiam vertisset**: on *vertere* as a middle, see ch. 18, 20; *Dial.* 4, 14, *in consuetudinem vertisset.*

25. **potuere**: *posse*, and so similarly, *debere*, *oportet*, *opus est*, and the gerundive, are very often in the indicative in the 'contrary to fact' conditional clauses, for their inherent meaning is, strictly speaking, incompatible with irreality. **et . . . et**: on the force of the polysyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxvii.

26. **in paenitentiam**: i.e. with no expectation of having to regret our attempt to drive out the invader. **primo statim**: cp. note ch. 3, 13.

28. **seposuerit**: the fourth paeon (◡ ◡ ◡ ⏑̲) in the *clausula* was objected to by Cicero. Cp. *Orat.* 63, 214; *de orat.* III. 47, 183. It is the only instance in the two speeches.

Chapter 32. 30. **dissensionibus ac discordiis**: so combined, *Dial.* 40, 20, and similarly, *discordiae* and *seditiones*, e.g. *Hist.* I. 84. **nisi si** = *nisi forte*, in an ironical sense, is rare.

Page 21. 2. **Germanos**: e.g. the Batavi and Tungri mentioned in ch. 36, 30. **plerosque**: *many*. Cp. note ch. 1, 10.

3. **licet**: in adversative clauses in Tacitus only here, *Dial.* 13, 29 and *Ann.* XIV. 55, both times also in a speech. **sanguinem conmodent**: *shed their blood.*

4. **diutius**, etc.: with the sentiment, cp. Liv. XXV. 29, 7, *diutius ille multo amicus fuit quam hic hostis*, *servos* in our passage being put sarcastically for *amicos.*

4. **fide et adfectu**: *loyalty and attachment.*

5. **Metus ac terror**: *dread and awe.* The terms are synonymous, for not only is *terror*, with but few exceptions, never used in the singular in the sense of *inspiring* fear, but this meaning is excluded by the context, as *timere*, below, shows. They are combined to balance and contrast *fide et adfectu*, which also accounts for their position as predicate nominatives. **infirma vincla caritatis**: corresponding to and suggested by *adfectu teneri*, the entire clause constituting a kind of oxymoron.

7. pro nobis: *on our side*. The same *incitamenta* are enumerated in the same order by Civilis in *Hist.* V. 17, *capesserent pugnam, coniugum, parentum, patriae memores.* — With this meaning of *pro*, cp. *Hist.* IV. 78, *cuncta pro hostibus erant.* **Romanos**: notice the emphatic position.

9. nulla . . . patria aut alia: i.e. many are mere adventurers with no fixed habitation, or they are foreigners (see ch. 32, 32). Cp. Mithridates on the earliest inhabitants of Rome, *convenas olim sine patria, parentibus* (Sall. *Hist. fragm.* IV. 17).

10. Paucos . . . circumspectantes: as a rule, when the last member in an enumeration is amplified, it is either joined by *et* to a preceding asyndeton, or else the asyndeton is retained throughout, but rounded off by chiasmus. Cp. e.g. *Hist.* II. 48, *placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lacrimas coercens*, where we also have a participle at the close as here.

12. vinctos: i.e. panic-stricken, because hampered by insurmountable obstacles. Cp. *Hist.* I. 79, *Sarmatae . . . velut vincti caedebantur; Ann.* I. 65, *en Varus eodemque iterum fato vinctae legiones.* A similar statement is made about themselves in Agricola's speech, in ch. 34, 1 ff. **tradiderunt**: on the great effect which such rhythmical *clausulae* (— ◡ — ◡̲) had upon a Roman audience, cp. Cic. *Orat.* 50, 168, *contiones saepe exclamare vidi cum apte verba cecidissent*, and esp. 63, 214, *me stante Carbo . . . dixit . . . "temeritas fili cōmprŏbāvit." hoc dichoreo (= ditrochaeo) tantus clamor contionis excitatus est, ut admirabile esset.*

13. auri fulgor atque argenti: added to define *adspectus* more closely. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxx. — With the *collocatio verborum*, cp. below, l. 20. The sentiment seems to have been a commonplace. Cp. esp. Liv. X. 39, 11 ff.; *multa de praesenti hostium adparatu vana magis species quam efficaci ad eventum disseruit: non enim cristas vulnera facere et per . . . aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum . . . auream olim atque argenteam Samnitium aciem . . . occisam;* Just. XI. 13; Curt. III. 2, 5, 12. **quod** = *quae res*, for the antecedent cannot be *adspectus et fulgor*, which would require *qui*, nor *aurum atque argentum*, which would call for *quae*.

15. Adgnoscent . . . recordabuntur . . . deserent: note the emphatic position of the predicates, on which cp. *Introd.* p. xxvi.

16. deserent . . . reliquerunt: with the repetition of the verb, cp. ch. 37, 11, *caesa . . . cecidere.*

17. illos: sc. *Romanos.* **ceteri**: a kind of prolepsis, very

common in Tacitus. Cp. e.g. *Dial.* 8, 13 ff., *ceteros quidem amicos . . . Marcellum autem et Crispum; Hist.* III. 32; *Ann.* III. 49.

18. ultra: i.e. beyond the Roman army, when once defeated. **formidinis**: *cause of fear.* Cp. e.g. ch. 36, 12; 41, 13; Prop. III. (IV.) 13, 38; Lucan. VII. 72, modern languages being often more precise and analytic than the Latin. **vacua castella**: *abandoned forts.* Probably rhetorical plurals, like *coloniae* below, the statement being an intentional exaggeration.

19. inter, etc.: *What with reluctant obedience on the one hand, and unjust authority on the other, the towns are*, etc. Cp. note ch. 31, 12. **parentes . . . imperantes** = *obsequium . . . imperium.* On this usage see note ch. 4, 11.

20. aegra: *ill at ease.* An exceedingly common metaphor, both in Greek and Latin. In reference to towns, e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 1015; Claud. *Bell. Get.* 437. — The two adjectives are used predicatively, on which usage see *Introd.* p. xxv. **municipia**: *Verulamium*, and, possibly, *Londinium*, though the plural may be merely rhetorical. On the position between the two attributes, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **Hic dux**: viz. Calgacus himself.

21. metalla: this contradicts ch. 31, 18, unless we suppose that foreign or British mines are here meant to be distinguished from Caledonian. **et ceterae**: this phrase, usually after a polysyndetic enumeration, is characteristic of Tacitean style.

22. in hoc campo: i.e. depends upon the battle to be fought on this field. The statement is common in speeches of this nature. Cp. *Ann.* II. 15, *aliud sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium.*

24. maiores . . . cogitate: more emphatic than the more usual construction with *de.* Cp. Plin. *Epist.* II. 1, 12, *Verginium cogito.*

Chapter 33. The speech of Agricola (33, 30–34, 8) is pitted, point for point, against that of Calgacus. Here, as there, the situation is represented as critical; there is an appeal to the valor of the soldiers, the rewards of victory and the dire consequences of a defeat are dwelt upon in both. Finally a supreme confidence in the outcome, based upon former achievements, and a depreciation of the enemy, are expressed by both speakers. This perfect parallelism of structure would be alone sufficient to stamp both speeches as works of the imagination. The address of Agricola, however, unlike that of Calgacus, may have had some historical background (see note

ch. 29, 10), although its contents teem with rhetorical commonplaces, met with in similar productions of Thucydides (esp. books VI.–VII.), Sallust, Livy, Curtius, and Ammianus Marcellinus. Cp. also *Introd.* p. xv. f. — The most noteworthy rhetorical features are: *anaphora* (ch. 33, 2. 11; 34, 25. 26 f.); *asyndeton* (ch. 33, 1 ff. 6. 14; 35, 5); *antithesis* (ch. 33, 5. 13. 15 f. 17); *fullness of expression* (ch. 33, 2 f. 7. 9 f.; 34, 24. 3. 4); *libration* (ch. 33, 3 f. 6. 7. 13. 14. 21; 34, 26. 5 f.); *poetic and epigrammatic expressions* (ch. 33, 10 ff. 13. 15 f. 20 f. 22; 34, 29. 30 ff. 3. 5 f.); *ditrochaic clausula* (ch. 33, 2. 8. 9. 11. 21. 23; 34, 25. 26. 28. 31. 5. 8); *cretic clausula* (ch. 34, 8).

25. barbaris: cp. *Hist.* IV. 15, *magno cum adsensu auditus, barbaro ritu.* **moris**: so ch. 39, 5; 42, 23, and elsewhere in Tacitus. It seems to occur first in Cic. *Verr.* I. 26, 66. The more usual *mos est*, e.g. ch. 25, 1; 40, 12.

26. cantu fremituque et clamoribus: the same collocation (*que — et*), e.g. ch. 32, 10 f.; 33, 9 f., similar synonymic combinations being exceedingly common.

27. fulgores: sc. *adspiciebantur.* On the ellipsis of a verb of seeing, cp. *Ann.* I. 7, *ne laeti . . . tristiores* (sc. *adspicerentur*), and *Introd.* p. xxxi. — The plural of *fulgor* is very rare, and was probably due to *agmina.* Translate: *Marching columns, each with flashing arms, were seen.* **audentissimi**: the substantival use of *audens* is Vergilian, and not uncommon in later poetry, but in prose not before Tacitus, the superlative being apparently ἅπαξ εἰρημένον. **procursu**: the ablative of 'attendant circumstance' is particularly frequent in Tacitus. Cp. *Dial.* 39, 25, *concursu totius civitatis.*

28. simul . . . cum: *no sooner . . . than.* This correlation seems to be extremely rare, so e.g. Liv. XLIV. 43, 1. It is not found elsewhere in Tacitus, though *iam, iamque . . . cum* is one of his favorite combinations. **quamquam**: with adjective, as in ch. 1, 2, where see note.

29. coercitum: the perfect passive participle here takes the place of a missing adjective in *-bilis.* So often, e.g. Sall. *Iug.* 43, 5, *animum invictum.*

30. adhuc: *still further.* Cp. note ch. 29, 6. **septimus annus,** etc.: 77/8–84, after the Roman method, reckoned inclusively. This seems to have been a stereotyped exordium. Cp. e.g. *Hist.* I. 28; *Ann.* XIV. 53; Lucan, I. 299, and Liv. XXI. 40, 5. 43, 13, the speeches of Hannibal and Scipio furnishing coincidences throughout.

Page 22. **1. virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani**, etc.: with the phrase cp. Curt. VI. 3, 7, 2, *imperio auspicioque perdomui*. The *imperium Romanum* is here, as *res publica* elsewhere, even in Cicero, personified for the evident purpose of avoiding the name of the emperor, usual in these formulae, for otherwise the credit for the great victory would have been given directly to Domitian. That Agricola is made to identify himself with his army (*nostra*) is in perfect keeping with the modesty of his character. Cp. esp. ch. 18, 17 ff.; 39, 5.

3. fortitudine, etc. . . . **patientia**, etc.: refer chiastically to *expeditionibus* and *proeliis*, as do *me militum* and *vos ducis*, for the conspicuous behavior of the soldiers in battle had already been sufficiently emphasized by *fide atque opera nostra vicistis*.

4. rerum naturam: *the forces of nature*. Cp. ch. 22, 7.

7. non fama nec rumore: this is evidently intended to contrast with Calgacus's remark in ch. 31, 23, *terrarum . . . extremos . . . sinus famae . . . defendit*, Agricola asserting that they occupy *finem Britanniae* already, not by the mere wish being father to the thought, but by actual possession, and unlike Caesar, *qui potest videri ostendisse posteris* (sc. *Britanniam*) *non tradidisse* (ch. 13, 20). — *fama* (κλέος) and *rumor* (ὄσσα) are distinguished, in that the former is vague, intangible, not traceable to any human agent, while the latter implies some definite opinion or information which lacks authority or substantiation; it is the more specific term, *fama* the more general, both being often combined, e.g. Caes. *B. G.* VI. 20, 1; Liv. XX. 39, 18, and esp. Ovid, *Met.* XII. 43 ff.

8. castris et armis: the two terms balance *fama nec rumore*, and correspond to *expeditionibus* and *proeliis* respectively. **Britannia**: on the position of the subject between the two predicates, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

10. flumina, etc.: observe the alliteration.

12. veniunt: *well, they are coming on*. On the emphatic position of the predicate, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **e latebris extrusi**: so Curt. IV. 14, 52, 4. **vota virtusque in aperto**: *your vows and your valor have full scope*. The Latin is fond of such alliterative collocations. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxviii. The thought often occurs in speeches of this character, e.g. Liv. XXXIV. 13, 5: Lucan, VII. 251 ff.; Amm. Marc. XVI. 12, 50.

13. omniaque prona victoribus . . . victis adversa: observe the alliterative antithesis, on which see *Introd.* p. xxvii. — With the

maxim, cp. Caes. *B. G.* II. 28, 2, *victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum;* Sall. *Cat.* 58, 9.

14. et = *etiam.* **superasse tantum itineris**: the phrase seems to occur only here. — Note the double chiasmus. So e.g. *Ann.* III. 4, *miles cum armis, sine insignibus magistratus, populus per tribus;* IV. 62; Lucret. V. 816; Quint. X. 1, 99; Plin. *Epist.* VI. 20, 14. The antithetical clauses are also in chiastic order. With the entire passage, cf. Liv. XXI. 43, 9, *tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque . . . emensos*, and esp. Curt. VI. 3, 9, 16, and on the rhetorical commonplaces characteristic of military speeches, see *Introd.* p. xxxvi.

15. in frontem = *progredientibus*, which was avoided for euphonic reasons, *fugientibus* following. The phrase is unparalleled, but *in* often has the meaning *towards*, and the term was probably coined on the analogy of *terga praebere*, which signifies flight in battle, even without the addition of *hostibus*. — On the ellipsis of *sed*, extremely common in antitheses of this kind, see *Introd.* p. xxxi.

17. neque enim, etc.: the speaker here admits what Calgacus had asserted, ch. 32, 10 ff.

18. manus et arma: see ch. 25, 32, and *Introd.* p. xxx.

19. Quod ad me attinet: so again in *Dial.* 25, 11, *quantum ad* taking its place elsewhere in Tacitus.

20. decretum est: *I have held*, a very rare, possibly colloquial, meaning. Cp. e.g. Cic. *ad fam.* II. 6, 3, *in quo omnia mea posita esse decrevi; ad Att.* III. 15, 7. **terga tuta esse**: a commonplace. Cp. Sall. *Cat.* 58, 16; Liv. XXVII. 13, 7.

21. Proinde = *itaque.* **et honesta mors, turpi vita potior, et**: this sentiment is also a commonplace, e.g. Eur. *Peleus, fragm.* 448 N.; Sen. *de tranq.* 11, 4, and Béowulf, 2890.

22. eodem loco sita sunt: i.e. a noble death for one's country or a glorious victory depends upon the issue of this battle. — This alternative is a rhetorical τόπος in many of these speeches. Cp. Liv. XXI. 43, 4, and esp. Dio Cass. LXII. 11, ἢ οὖν περιγενώμεθα αὐτῶν ἢ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθάνωμεν, καλὸν τὸ μνημεῖον τὴν Βρεταννίαν ἕξομεν.

23. fuerit: best taken as future perfect. **in ipso . . . fine**: observe the skill with which Tacitus establishes the transition to the next chapter, the present phrase naturally suggesting *novae* gentes and *ignota* acies. Cp. note ch. 23, 31. **terrarum ac naturae fine**: *on the very confines of land, nay, of the world itself.* The second term emphasizes *terrarum*, the *ac* being epexegetic. Cp. ch. 26, 11.

Chapter 34. **24. constitisset**: the predicate agrees with *acies*, the nearer subject, which is added to *gentes* to signify that they were on a war footing, *consisto* being also a military term. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxx. With the thought, cp. Liv. XXI. 40, 5.

26. decora, etc.: i.e. *victories won against them*. Cp. Liv. XXI. 40, 5. 41, 6; XXVII. 13; Amm. Marc. XVI. 12, 50.

27. furto noctis: refers to ch. 26, 10 ff. The same phrase, *under the secret cover of night*, occurs in Curt. IV. 13, 47, 9.

28. clamore: cp. ch. 26, 15 ff. **ceterorum fugacissimi**: two ideas here coalesce into one, viz. *ceteris Britannorum fugaciores* and *omnium B. fugacissimi*. The confusion is a Graecism, but not uncommon in Latin; e.g. Thucyd. I. 1; Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 10, 22, 103, and similarly Tac. *Hist.* I. 50. Cp. also Milton's phrase, *fairest of her daughters, Eve*.

29. Quo modo, etc.: this simile, found also Curt. III. 8, 19, 10, seems to be based on Hom. *Iliad*. XXI. 573 ff. — *quo modo* (for the regular *quem ad modum*) . . . *sic*, is a frequent correlation in Tacitus. **silvas saltusque**: this alliterative collocation is poetic and common in Vergil, but very rare in prose. In Tacitus again, *Ann.* II. 14.

30. penetrantibus: sc. *nobis*, for, as *agmen* and the imperfect *pellebantur* seem to indicate, the illustration is supposed to represent recent experiences, here recalled to exemplify the alleged situation of the enemy. With the elliptical dative (rather than abl.) absolute, cp. ch. 10, 13; 11, 10; 18, 20.

31. ruēre: the aoristic perfect is common, and with but few exceptions always found with the shorter form. — On the plural after *quisque*, see note ch. 3, 24 and *Ann.* XIV. 18.

Page 23. **1. numerus**: *a worthless lot*. For the meaning, see Hor. *Epist.* I. 2, 27, *nos numerus sumus*, and for the thought cp. Liv. XXI. 40, 10, *reliquias extremas hostium, non hostem habetis;* Curt. VI. 3, 9, 17. **quod**, etc.: *as for the fact that*. The brachylogical use of *quod* is first found in Lucret. III. 41. In Tacitus, e.g. *Dial.* 25, 3; *Germ.* 43, 14; *Hist.* II. 38. — With the sentiment, cp. Liv. XXI. 40, 6, *nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi sunt*, and Curt. IV. 14, 52, 2.

3. novissimae res: *extreme plight*. So often, e.g. *Hist.* II. 48. **defixere**: *riveted to*. **in his vestigiis** = *in hoc campo* (ch. 32, 22).

5. ederetis: *you are to exhibit*, a final subjunctive, as in ch. 42, 5 and *Germ.* 29, 5. *edere victoriam* is a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον, coined

on the analogy of *edere spectaculum.* **transigite cum**: *have done with.* In this sense Liv. IX. 12, 11, *transigere cum Publilio certamen.* **imponite**, etc.: *crown the campaigns of fifty years with one glorious day.* — *magnus dies*, like our 'red-letter day.' The actual period was only forty-two years (43–84 A.D.). — With the emphatic position of the predicates, cp. ch. 32, 15 ff. and *Introd.* p. xxvi.

7. moras belli: cp. ch. 19, 2 ff.

8. causas rebellandi: ch. 15, 20 ff.; 20, 19 ff.

Chapter 35. **9. militum ardor eminebat**: *the enthusiasm of the soldiers rose to a high pitch.* The effect of a general's speech is often described in similar terms, e.g. *Ann.* II. 15; XIV. 36; Curt. VI. 4, 10, 1; Amm. Marc. XVI. 12, 13.

11. statimque ad arma discursum: *there was a sudden rush to arms.* The same phrase is found in Hom. *Odyss.* XXIV. 486. **Instinctos**: *in high feather.*

13. mediam aciem firmarent = *m. a. firme componerent, form a powerful center.* Cp. ch. 14, 13, and esp. Liv. XXII. 46, 3. **cornibus adfunderentur**: *flanked the ends.* In this military sense the verb seems to occur only here.

The entire force available in this battle can be approximately calculated at about 28,000 men, though the legions were not called into action, the auxiliaries deciding the conflict. The topography and description of the battle, excepting a certain historical background, are largely imaginary, and would suit any hilly country or any conflict of Romans and barbarians. On this feature, cp. *Introd.* p. xvi. — In the present instance, six phases may be distinguished, though the details and their correlation are somewhat vague and unsatisfactory. 1. *Fight at a distance, indecisive* (ch. 36, 26–29); 2. *Hand-to-hand fight, advance of auxiliaries* (36, 29–7); 3. *Flight of the chariot fighters and confusion wrought by the horses* (36, 10–17); 4. *Britons assume the offensive, but retreat before the Roman cavalry reserves* (37, 18–24); 5. *Britons surrounded and put to flight* (37, 25–32); 6. *Final unsuccessful rally — pursuit of the vanquished* (37, 1–11). The stylistic and rhetorical colors for the picture Tacitus has freely appropriated from his predecessors, notably Sallust.

14. pro: *in front of.* Cp. note ch. 12, 21, *propugnant.* **victoriae**: equivalent to *si vincerent* and contrasted with *si pellerentur.* Cp. ch. 33, 13.

15. decus, etc.: to gain a victorious battle without shedding the

blood of Roman legionaries enhanced the glory, while in the emergency of a repulse of the non-Roman auxiliaries they, with strength unimpaired, were in position to turn disaster into success. *Ann.* XII. 17; XIV. 23. **citra** = *sine.* See note ch. 1, 12. **bellandi**: the genitive depends on *decus*, and signifies, as often, that in which a thing consists. I.e. *it is a glorious thing in warfare to triumph without*, etc.

16. pellerentur: sc. *auxilia*, which, though easily supplied from the context, would probably have been expressed had not *auxilium* preceded. **in speciem simul ac terrorem**: observe that what Calgacus had warned against and ridiculed, *ne terreat vanus adspectus et . . . fulgor* (ch. 32, 13), is here asserted to have been resorted to by the Caledonians themselves. — *terror* is the result of *species*, and *simul* is used to indicate their belief that cause and effect would be virtually coincident. Cp. *Germ.* 38, 9, *in altitudinem quandam et terrorem.*

18. in aequo: sc. *consisteret*, to be supplied from the preceding *constiterat.* **conexi**: *in close array.* **velut insurgerent**: i.e. seemed actually to rise terrace-like one above the other. It was this that constituted the imposing appearance just mentioned. Tacitus and post-Augustan writers generally do not often apologize for metaphors, but here *velut* was necessary, for otherwise the predicate would have belonged to *in aequo* as well.

19. media campi: the plain stretching from the foot of the *adclive iugum* to the rear of the *primum agmen.* **covinnarius eques**: warriors fighting from chariots, called *covinnarii* in ch. 36, 11 and *essedarii* by Caesar. It was a mode of fighting peculiar to the Celts and to the Britons in particular. See notes ch. 12, 20. 21.

21. simul: on its medial position, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

22. diductis ordinibus: *widening the ranks.* Elsewhere Tacitus uses *laxare* in this sense, its opposite being *densus* or *firmus.* **porrectior**: *drawn out too long.* Cp. Sall. *Iug.* 49, 1; Liv. XXV. 21, 6; XXXI. 21, 14.

23. futura erat: *might prove to be*, a frequent meaning of the future participle. For *quamquam* with the indicative, very unusual in Tacitus, see ch. 36, 11.

24. promptior in spem: *rather sanguine.* — *promptus* with *in* or *ad* is a favorite expression of Tacitus, occurring fourteen times. **firmus adversis**: *steadfast in the face of adversity.* Elsewhere Tacitus uses the preposition *adversus* with *firmus*, but this was here

excluded by *adversis*. The change between an ablative or dative and a prepositional clause is, however, characteristic of the author. See *Introd.* p. xxxiv. — The dative with *firmus*, used personally, is extremely rare. So e.g. Vell. Pat. II. 63, 3, *Pollio firmus proposito;* of things, it occurs in Liv. II. 5, 4.

25. vexilla: the standards of the auxiliaries as distinguished from the *signa* of the legions.

Chapter 36. **27. constantia . . . arte**: *persistently and skillfully.* Ablatives of manner, the former referring particularly to *caetris . . . excutere*, the latter to *gladiis . . . vitare*, in chiastic order.

30. Batavorum: this famous German tribe dwelt on the island of the lower Rhine, the modern Holland. We know of eight auxiliary cohorts serving in Britain, but whether the three (the number is due to conjecture) here mentioned were all that remained at this time is uncertain but probable. See *Germ.* 29. **Tungrorum**: another German tribe, settled in what corresponds to the modern Belgium.

Page 24. **1. mucrones ac manus**: equivalent to the more common *cominus*, as opposed to *eminus* above. **quod** = *quod genus pugnandi.*

2. et . . . et = *cum . . . tum*, *on the one hand . . . on the other.* So very often. **quod . . . exercitatum**: i.e. this mode of fighting had become familiar to Agricola's soldiers by practice, owing to their long military service. **inhabile**: *awkward, embarrassing.* In this sense frequent in Tacitus.

4. sine mucrone: *pointless. Sine* with a noun is the usual substitute in Latin for a missing negative adjective. **complexum armorum**: *hand-to-hand fight.* The phrase seems to occur only here, but cp. Pseudo Quint. *Decl.* 4, 22, *in Martis complexu cadere.*

5. tolerabant: a bold personification. So *Ann.* II. 2 and often in Pliny the Elder. — On a similar statement about the Germans in battle, cp. *Ann.* II. 21. **miscere ictus**: *dealt out blow upon blow.* Another of the many idiomatic uses of this verb. Cp. Aesch. *Pers.* 1039, μεμίξεται . . . πλαγά.

6. ora fodere: a common phrase, e.g. *Ann.* II. 21; Liv. VIII. 10, 6. With the entire passage, cf. Polyb. II. 33.

8. proximos quosque for the singular (in Tacitus only here and *Ann.* XIV. 31, *praecipui quique*) is extremely rare, Cicero, e.g.

having but one instance, *Lael.* 10, 34. It was used in the present passage to indicate that the enemy approached in groups, not singly, one after another.

9. semineces for *semiviros* is a Vergilian word, frequent in post-Augustan poetry, but very rare in prose ; e.g. Liv. XXIII. 15, 8 and Tac. *Hist.* III. 28. In Greek, on the other hand, the very opposite usage obtains, ἡμιθνής being quite common, whereas ἡμίζωος is not found at all, except in very late writers.

10. equitum = *equorum*, sc. Britanorum. Here equivalent to *equi sine rectoribus* (see below). This confusion is met with as early as Ennius, 237 V. *quadrupes eques*, and was imitated by Verg. *Georg.* III. 116 and others. See the interesting discussion in Gell. *Noct. Att.* XVIII. 5. With the acceptance of this interpretation, which is especially probable in view of the very extensive indebtedness of Tacitus to Vergil, all the difficulties, to which this paragraph has given rise, disappear. **turmae**: *crowds*, as often of animals. The horses with the driverless chariots (*ut fugere covinarii*) rushed into the midst of the battle. The hitherto universally accepted explanation, which understands *turmae* of the Roman cavalry, is incompatible with the meaning of *miscuere*, for, when used in a military sense, it never signifies the strategic juncture of several parts of one and the same army, but either the engagement of two opposing forces or else an unexpected confusion of the ranks, caused by the sudden intrusion of some disturbing element. The subject of the *three* indicatives (*intulerant*, *haerebant*, and *incursabant*) is thus the same, viz., the *equi cum curribus et sine rectoribus*; while the subject of the *one* subjunctive (*impellerentur*) is the Roman cavalry.

12. recentem terrorem: *a fresh source of panic*, in addition to that inspired by the victorious infantry. — The same phrase occurs repeatedly. Cp. also note ch. 32, 18. **densis . . . haerebant**: although the reinless horses rushed madly against their own side, they nevertheless were hampered in their movements by the compact mass of the Britons as well as by the hilly surface. The result of this is expressed in the last clause, *ac . . . incursabant.*

14. aequa, etc. : although the corrupted text cannot be restored with certainty, the meaning seems to have been that the Roman cavalry, following up the successes of the infantry, were equally impeded in their movement by the inequality of the land, so that the conflict only partially resembled the equestrian conflicts of the plain. The impossibility, moreover, of controlling their own horses and

securing a firm foothold rendered their condition precarious. — On the metaphor, *pugnae facies*, see note ch. 38, 22.

16. exterriti sine rectoribus equi: a reminiscence of Sall. *Hist. fragm.* I. 96 D., containing the identical phrase.

17. transversos aut obvios: the horses for the reasons given (l. 13) either turned athwart, or ran straight ahead, in wild panic and confusion.

Chapter 37. **20. vincentium**: significantly used for *victorum*, for the action of the Britons showed that they at least did not as yet admit that the Romans had won a victory, but at best only temporary successes so far. **circumire . . . coeperant**: i.e. *et circumissent ni.* On this brachylogy, see *Introd.* p. xxxii.

21. quattuor . . . alas: these four squadrons of cavalry had also been *pugnae expertes.* They are especially mentioned here, because they were probably not a part of those referred to as forming the *acies* (ch. 35, 13). **ad subita belli**: *for a sudden emergency.* The substantival use of neuter plural adjectives is perhaps more frequent in Tacitus than in any previous writer save Seneca. — The phrase itself is a *vox Liviana.* Cp. also *Hist.* V. 16, *dux sibi delectos retinuerat ad improvisa.*

25. transvectaeque: the *cause* is here added paratactically to the *effect*, in place of a clause with *cum.* Cp. *Germ.* 22, 9.

27. spectaculum: sc. *adspiciebatur.* On this ellipsis, see below, l. 31, and *Introd.* p. xxxi.

28. atque: on the collocation, the last member being amplified and therefore joined by a conjunction to a preceding asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxviii. — The entire passage is clearly modeled upon Sall. *Iug.* 101, 11, *tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi, fugere, occidi, capi . . . omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.*

29. hostium, though belonging to *armatorum*, which by its independent position is the more effectively contrasted with *inermes*, is here placed at the beginning, because it depends upon both *catervae* and *quidam*, which are in turn in antithesis.

30. terga praestare: a new expression coined to avoid the stereotyped phrase, *terga dare, praebere.* On this peculiarly Tacitean aversion for hackneyed phrases, see *Introd.* pp. xxv. xxxv.

31. arma . . . humus: observe the effect of the polysyndeton, bringing each single element into prominence. See *Introd.* p. xxvii.

aliquando . . . virtusque: sc. *redit*, as shown by Tacitus's model, Verg. *Aen.* II. 367, *quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus.* Cp. also Sen. *Troad.* 671 f., *inermes offeram manus Dabit ira vires*, with the same antithesis as in ll. 29 f.

Page 25. 1. **adpropinquaverunt**: sc. *Britanni*, easily supplied from the preceding *victis*, and made necessary by the context. **identidem**: to be taken with *conlecti*, i.e. on approaching the forests, the Britons repeatedly rallied.

2. **primos sequentium incautos**: i.e. those Roman soldiers who *festinatione victoriae* incautiously followed the fleeing enemy in advance of the pursuing cohorts, the Britons, etc. — The irregular word-order was caused by a desire for succinct and rhythmical expression. — On the use of the adjective (*incautos*) for the adverb, see note ch. 5, 2. The entire passage closely resembles Liv. XXII. 31, 4.

3. **frequens ubique**: *who was everywhere conspicuously active.* — The phrase is pleonastic, for the sake of emphasis. Cp. note ch. 22, 16.

4. **indaginis modo**: *after the manner of a cordon.* The figure is taken from hunting, the wild beasts being driven into one spot and surrounded by nets. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* IV. 121. The simile is very frequently applied to the enclosing of enemies, e.g. Liv. VII. 37, 14.

6. **persultare**: *to scour, roam over.* Here, as also elsewhere in Tacitus, the verb is used in a more general sense, and therefore applicable to infantry as well. **acceptum aliquod . . . fiduciam foret**: the participle is unusually far removed from its auxiliary, probably here for the purpose of securing alliterative groups. Cp. also Lucret. I. 76; Tac. *Ann.* XII. 16, *coepta . . . foret.*

7. **vulnus**: *damage.* This figurative sense of *vulnus*, especially frequent with *accipere*, is a euphemism for *clades.* In Tac. again, *Ann.* II. 21.

8. **compositos . . . ordinibus**: i.e. when it was seen that the Romans had recovered from the confusion into which they had been thrown, and were again pursuing in battle array, etc.

9. **versi** = *se verterunt.* See note ch. 18, 20. **alius alium respectantes** = *in vicem r.* The phrase, also with the plural verb, is found in Sall. *Hist. fragm.* (Speech of Lepidus) I. 41, 20 D. *alius alium principem expectantes*, and the construction is quite common in Livy. In Tacitus only here, and used to avoid the repetition of *invicem* or *inter se.*

10. rari: on the ellipsis of *sed*, see *Introd.* p. xxxi.

11. finis . . . satietas fuit: *night and repletion put an end to the pursuit.* — On the singular predicate, cp. note ch. 4, 21. **caesa hostium . . . cecidere**: ancient historians generally shrink from giving an exact number of the fallen in battle, even when such was ascertainable. They prefer a round number instead, usually more or less exaggerated, or else they refrain from mentioning any. Cp. Plin. *Epist.* IX. 16, 1, *cum historicorum more scribas numerum iniri non potuisse.* That this was the practice of Tacitus is expressly attested by a now lost passage of his *Histories*, cited by Orosius, VII. 10, 4, *nisi C. Tacitus . . . de reticendo interfectorum numero et Sallustium et alios auctores . . . sanxisse et se ipsum idem potissimum elegisse dixisset.* In his extant works there are only *four* other exceptions, viz. *Germ.* 33, 11 (over 60,000 Germans slain); *Hist.* II. 17 (1100 Romans); *Ann.* IV. 73 (1300 Romans); XIV. 37 (80,000 Britons, 400 Romans). — The *ad decem milia* is, of course, a mere guess. Cp. Herodian. III. 7, 6, *πλῆθος τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν ἀνῃρημένων . . . ὡς ἕκαστος ἠβουλήθη τῶν τότε συγγραψάντων ἱστόρησεν.* The Roman loss of 360 is perhaps authentic, the information being probably due to Agricola himself. — On the repetition of the verb, see note ch. 32, 16.

13. in quîs: this archaic form occurs only here in the minor works, though very common in the later writings. — Tacitus had spoken (ch. 35, 15) of the glory of winning a victory without loss of Roman blood. The fate of this prefect is incidentally noted as the only apparent exception, for even his death was due to a mere accident. A modern writer would probably have mentioned this in a footnote.

Chapter 38. **15. nox . . . victoribus**: i.e. the night was passed joyfully by the victors, owing to the soldiers' delight in their success and the resultant booty. **et . . . quidem . . . Britanni**: the ellipsis of *sed*, extremely common in Tacitus, is especially so after *et . . . quidem.*

16. palantes, *separating*, equivalent to *rari*, above, or *disiectos* (ch. 20, 15), is a favorite term in Tacitus, and used of soldiers breaking their ranks.

17. trahere, etc.: observe the accumulation of ten historical infinitives, and cp. note ch. 5, 28.

18. per iram: *in their wrath*, equivalent, as very often in T., to a modal ablative. **ultro**: *actually going so far as to.*

19. consilia aliqua: *devising some plan or other; aliqua* is used to emphasize the ill-matured character of these plans. **separare** = *separatim capere consilia*, the usual method of barbarians, see note ch. 12, 24. — The two verbs are similarly combined in Quint. IV. 2, 101, *miscenda sit an separanda narratio.*

20. pignorum: *their dear ones.* A poetic word for children, found repeatedly in Tacitus.

21. satisque constabat: a favorite phrase in Tacitus. The imperfect, for the present, takes the reader back to the report itself as given at the time by eye-witnesses of this scene, and thus prevents *tamquam* from being regarded as the subjective inference of the author, a usage not found in Tacitus. See note ch. 15, 19. — The Britons preferred to kill their wives and children rather than to see them led off into captivity with all the indignities which that involved. Cp. ch. 15, 24 ff. and *Germ.* 8, 17.

22. dies faciem . . . aperuit: personifications of time and figurative uses of *facies* are common in Latin writers, but this particular metaphor seems to be a new coinage, and is found only here. For analogous phrases, cp. e.g. ch. 22, 5; 36, 14; *Hist.* IV. 29, *novam aciem dies aperuit; 62, detexit ignominiam campus et dies.*

23. vastum . . . silentium: so Liv. X. 34, 6 and Tac. *Hist.* III. 13; *Ann.* III. 4; IV. 50. **secreti colles**: *lonely, quiet*, as being no longer occupied as before, — a picturesque touch. For this meaning of *secreti*, cp. *Germ.* 40, 4, *secreto lacu* (i.e. removed from human habitations), *Ann.* XI. 21; *Hist.* III. 13. — Observe the fine cumulative effect of the asyndeton, giving the idea of weird desolation as far as the eye could reach. See *Introd.* p. xxvii.

25. incerta fugae vestigia: probably a reminiscence of Lucan. VIII. 4, where the identical expression occurs.

26. et = *et praeterea.* Cp. note ch. 10, 19.

27. spargi bellum: the poetical phrase occurs again, *Ann.* III. 21, and is taken from Lucan, I. 468; II. 682; III. 64, who in turn may have been influenced by Vergil's *spargere arma* in *Aen.* VII. 551.

28. Borestorum: probably a Caledonian tribe southeast of the battle scene. They are mentioned only here.

29. circumvehi Britanniam: the expedition already referred to in ch. 10, 17 ff., where see notes. As we learn from this and the earlier passage, the fleet had been instructed to go only far enough to the north to catch a glimpse of Thule, and was then to sail directly south along the western coast. This plan was, however, thwarted by

the advanced season of the year (ch. 10, 19, *et hiems adpetebat*); so they returned to the point whence they started, meeting again with favorable weather on the homeward journey. The insularity of Britain had already been proved by the Usipi in the previous year (82 A.D.). See ch. 28. **praecipit**: in Tacitus and in post-Augustan writers generally, verbs of command, persuasion, and the like, are often construed with the infinitive in place of *ut*.

31. lento itinere: *by leisurely marches.*

32. in hibernis: the exact location cannot be determined. If *simul*, etc., is to be taken strictly, these winter quarters must have been at some distance from the eastern shore, even allowing for the *lento itinere*. It is, therefore, probable that they ought to be located south of the Clyde, near the western coast, and on British, not Caledonian, territory.

Page 26. **1. secunda tempestate ac fama**: *with favorable weather and great renown.* On the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction of *secunda*, see *Introd.* p. xxxii. **Trucculensem portum**: probably, as the context seems to imply, on the east coast, near the Firth of Forth. The harbor is not elsewhere mentioned.

2. tenuit: *cast anchor, reached port.* A nautical phrase frequent in Livy and elsewhere. **unde**: i.e. *quo profecta, eo . . . redierat.* The nearest coast of Britain had been passed in its entire length. **proximo**: i.e. to the Romans on the continent, hence eastern. The distance between them was underestimated, and the relative positions misconceived. **litore lecto** is a Vergilian phrase, adopted by Livy and later writers. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* III. 292; Liv. XXII. 57, 7.

Chapter 39. **5. epistulis**: *in his official report.* This curious plural, formed on the analogy of *litterae*, a letter, seems to occur first in Velleius, and is quite common later. Tacitus has twenty-eight instances, but, excepting this passage, they are confined to the *Histories* and the first three books of the *Annals*; thereafter, *litterae* is restored to favor. — With Agricola's modest behavior, cp. ch. 18, 18. **Domitiano moris erat** = *Domitianus, ut ei moris erat.* For a similar attraction into the subordinate clause, cp. note ch. 15, 20 and *Introd.* p. xxx.

6. fronte laetus, pectore anxius: with the antithesis, cp. Cic. *ad Att.* V. 10, 3, *haec ipsa fero . . . fronte et vultu bellissime, sed angor intimis sensibus*; Tac. *Hist.* II. 65, *laetitiam . . . vultu ferens*,

animo anxius.—On the adjective for the adverb, cp. ch. 5, 2. **excepit**: the fact that Tacitus is able to report Domitian's behavior, and the use of *excepit* for *accepit*, seem to imply, on the one hand, the presence of witnesses; on the other, that the letter was read to the emperor. **Inerat conscientia**: the same phrase occurs *Hist.* III. 86.

7. **derisui**: *an object of mockery.* A rare post-Augustan word, e.g. Sen. *Contr.* IV. *prooem.* 10. See note ch. 32, 18. **nuper falsum . . . triumphum**: the campaign against the Chatti, in 83 A.D., again sneeringly alluded to in *Germ.* 37, 24, *triumphati magis quam victi sunt.* Although Domitian did not win any military laurels himself, the war, carried on under his auspices, resulted in a permanent extension of the Roman *limes* or frontier, as Tac. *Germ.* 29, 19, though he purposely conceals Domitian's name, admits.

8. **emptis**, etc.: a similar story is told of *Caligula* by Suet. *Cal.* 47, who relates that the emperor made his pseudo-barbarians *non tantum rutilare et submittere comam sed et sermonem Germanicum addiscere et nomina barbarica ferre.* It is to this first sham triumph that Tacitus seems to allude in *Germ.* 37, 20, *mox ingentes Gai Caesaris minas in ludibrium versae* (= *derisui fuisse*).

11. **celebrari**: depends upon *inerat conscientia.* An accusative with infinitive governed by a noun, and often, as here, followed by indirect discourse, is quite common; e.g. ch. 9, 24; 40, 24; 43, 4; *Hist.* V. 20; *Ann.* I. 5.—On the conciseness of expression, see *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **Id sibi . . . formidulosum**: sc. *esse videbatur*, to be supplied by zeugma out of *inerat conscientia*, the presence of *sibi* preventing the latter from being retained as the governing clause. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii. **privati hominis**: *subject.* This, not *civilian*, as contrasted with *magistratus*, is the regular meaning of *privatus* in post-Augustan writers. With the statement itself, cp. Dio Cass. LXVI. 20, ἅτε καὶ μείζονα ἢ κατὰ στρατηγὸν καταπράξας (sc. Ἀγρικόλας).

12. **studia fori et civilium artium decus**: *the pursuit of forensic oratory and the statesman's renown.* Observe the chiasmus.—On the blighting effect of Domitian's despotism, see ch. 2; Plin. *Epist.* VIII. 14, 2; *Paneg.* 66. 76.

14. **cetera**: *all other eminent accomplishments.* **utcumque**: *somehow or other, in a measure.* So often, especially in Livy and Tacitus. **dissimulari**: *be ignored, overlooked*, a not uncommon meaning of the word in Tacitus.

15. **ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem**: i.e. military genius

was a peculiarly imperial characteristic, to which a mere subject ought never to lay claim, for its possession involved an eminence too exalted to be overlooked, besides suggesting odious comparisons with an emperor so lacking in this very quality as Domitian. — On the predicative position of the attributive, see *Introd.* p. xxv.

16. **exercitus**: *wrought up by such reflections.* **quodque . . . erat**: in apposition with the following clause.

17. **secreto suo satiatus**: i.e. having fully indulged in his characteristic secret broodings over this matter. — Note the alliteration. — With the statement itself, cp. Plin. *Paneg.* 48, *inmanissima belua* (sc. *Domitianus*) *velut quodam specu inclusa . . . tenebras semper secretumque captantem.* **in praesentia**: possibly the ablative of the substantive, not the neuter plural participle, with *tempora* understood. Neither form occurs elsewhere in Tacitus, he using *in praesens* instead, though *e praesentibus* is also frequently found. As an ablative singular in an adverbial sense, the phrase is extremely rare. Cp. e.g. Sen. *Epist.* 52, 15; 72, 1; both times with *differre.* **reponere odium**: the same trait is attributed by Tacitus to Tiberius and Nero. Cp. *Ann.* I. 69; XVI. 5.

18. **impetus famae**, etc.: i.e. until the enthusiasm in Rome, over his achievements and his popularity among the soldiers in Britain, had had time to cool down. — On the singular predicate, cp. note ch. 4, 21.

19. **nam**, etc.: for if summoned to Rome while his victories were still fresh and there was an army at his back, Agricola might easily have deposed the tyrant. — The phrase *etiam tum* skillfully establishes the transition to the next chapter, dealing with the events immediately following the recall, which latter, because implied in the context, is not expressly mentioned. The motives for Domitian's conduct here given must not be accepted without some allowance. Agricola had been governor of Britain for a longer period than any of his predecessors. His campaigns were very expensive and yielded no commensurate results. Domitian had not the interest in Britain that Vespasian and Titus had; finally the Dacian revolt was upon him, so that the emperor may well have been justified in checking Agricola's lust of conquest.

Chapter 40. 21. **triumphalia ornamenta**: e.g. the *toga picta*, *tunica palmata*, the laurel crown, the right to the title *triumphalis*. They were granted in lieu of a triumph, which could be celebrated only by the emperor or one of the imperial family. Agrippa was the

last subject for whom this ancient honor was decreed, but he declined it twice, in 19 and 14 B.C. After the time of Hadrian, its empty substitute was also done away with. **inlustris statuae**: the *statua triumphalis*, or *laureata*, as it is variously called, was since the time of Augustus placed in the Forum.

22. quidquid: we should expect *quidquid aliud*, as in *Dial.* 5, 1; 19, 1. **multo verborum honore**: the repetition of *honore* is possibly designed to convey the impression of the emptiness and meaningless character of these alleged marks of distinction.

23. addique: Domitian also suggested that the senate should spread the information that, as an additional mark of imperial favor, Agricola's appointment as governor of Syria was soon to follow. — *opinionem* shows that this intimation was not given in the decree itself, for only an official and actual announcement could have properly found a place there.

25. tum: 84 A.D. **Atilii Rufi**: probably identical with the *P. Atilius Rufus* mentioned in a military diploma of the year 80 A.D. as the commander of a number of cohorts and cavalry squadrons in Pannonia. **maioribus**: perhaps best taken in its regular sense of *older men*, for the meaning *more distinguished*, generally given to the word here, is not found elsewhere, although *minores* is repeatedly used for *inferiores*. But in either case, the term subserves the purpose of showing that the appointment was in the nature of a promotion, for Syria, as well as Britain, was a Caesarian province, both being governed by *consulares* with the same title of *legatus propraetore*.

26. Credidere plerique: with the initial position of the verb, especially common in this and similar phrases, see ch. 9, 6 and *Introd.* p. xxvi. **secretioribus ministeriis**: *privy council*. Freedmen often occupied the highest offices and the most confidential positions in the imperial household, and under bad emperors constituted not infrequently the real power behind the throne. — *Ministeriis* = *ministris*, the abstract for the concrete.

27. codicillos: *letters patent.*

28. dabatur: a kind of epistolary imperfect, regarded from the point of view of the recipient. — The new appointment was to be made known to Agricola only to insure a speedy acquiescence in the recall which had been sent to him previously, Domitian fearing that Agricola might not comply with it, but the general's loyal conduct, evinced by his immediate departure, rendered this stratagem unnecessary.

29. libertum: repeated for the sake of emphasis, according to Tacitean usage.

Page 27. **1. sive verum istud**, etc.: such phrases, qualifying a direct charge or innuendo, are specially characteristic of Tacitus. Cp. note *Dial.* 12, 19. **ex**: *in keeping with, in accordance with.* A modal use of the preposition exceedingly frequent in Tacitus.

2. Tradiderat: *as a matter of fact, he had handed over.* On the emphatic position of the verb, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

3. successori: probably *Sallustius Lucullus*, executed by Domitian for naming a new kind of spear after himself.

4. notabilis esset: *attract attention; notabilis* is not found till the Augustan period, but is of frequent occurrence in Tacitus. **celebritate et frequentia occurrentium**: *by the constant stream of people coming to meet him.* — By way of contrast, cp. the conduct of Piso in *Ann.* III. 9, *auxit vulgi iras, quia navem tumulo Caesarum adpulerat dieque et ripa frequenti magno clientium agmine ipse, feminarum comitatu Plancina et vultu alacres incessere* (sc. Romam).

5. noctu . . . noctu: observe the effective anaphora.

6. ut praeceptum: probably to be taken only with the immediately preceding clause.

7. brevi osculo: *a perfunctory kiss.* Cp. *Ann.* XIII. 18. This mode of salutation, reserved by the Roman emperors for their most intimate friends, was introduced from the Orient in the reign of Augustus, and at first confined to the nobility; by the time of Domitian the custom had become more general. Cp. Suet. *Otho* 6, *Galbam salutavit, utque consuerat, osculo exceptus*, on the very day of Galba's murder! **inmixtus est**: *he was mixed up, lost in the crowd of courtiers*, and thus put on an equal footing with them, an additional humiliation.

8. grave inter otiosos: *unpopular with men of peace.*

10. penitus hausit: *drank deeply of.* A favorite Tacitean metaphor. **cultu modicus**: *unostentatious in his mode of life.* We expect the genitive or *in*, as in Plin. *Epist.* I. 22, 4, *quam parcus in victu, quam modicus in cultu*, but the simple ablative, though occasionally found with this adjective, is perhaps here primarily used for the sake of symmetry with those following. **sermone facilis**: *courteous in conversation, affable.* **uno aut altero**: *one or, at best, two.* After a passive the simple ablative of a *person*, represented as an *active* agent, is rare and chiefly poetic. Cp. Curt. VIII. 14, 15,

Hephaestione comitatus; X. 8, 3, *pueris comitatus;* and *Ann.* XIV. 8, *trierarcho . . . comitatum.* This idiom must be carefully distinguished from the usage noted on ch. 2, 17.

12. per ambitionem: *by outward display*, designed to gain popularity. Cp. ch. 29, 23. The word here closely approaches its original meaning (*captatio favoris*). **aestimare**: usually construed with a simple ablative or with *ex*; with *per*, though a very common substitute for the ablative in Tacitus (cp. note ch. 9, 19), only here and in Liv. XXXVIII. 47, 10. **viso adspectoque**: the more specific term added to the generic, for *adspicere* implies seeing face to face. So Plaut. *Most.* 1105; Hyg. *Fab.* 105, and cp. *Introd.* p. xxx.

13. quaererent famam: *inquired into the reason of his reputation.* Cp. note ch. 32, 18. **pauci interpretarentur**: i.e. a few understood the motives of his conduct (namely, the desire not to invite the open enmity of the emperor and the envy of the *otiosi*), and recognized his greatness in spite of his attempt to conceal it.

Chapter 41. **14. eos dies**: the period subsequent to his recall. **absens**, etc.: note the emphatic anaphora and the alliterative antithesis (*accusatus — absolutus*), on which see *Introd.* p. xxviii.

17. pessimum . . . genus: in apposition to *laudantes.* The precedence of the apposition is more common in Tacitus than in previous writers. For a very similar collocation, cp. *Hist.* I. 15, *adulatio, blanditiae et pessimum veri adfectus venenum sua cuique utilitas.*

18. laudantes = *laudatores, flatterers.* Cp. note *Dial.* 41, 8.

19. sileri: *to be ignored.* Rare with persons and seemingly first so used in Hor. *Carm.* I. 12, 11; in the passive, as here, e.g. Plin. *Epist.* VIII. 22, 4, *quisquis ille . . . sileatur.*

20. Moesia Daciaque, etc.: for the narrative of these events along the lower Danube, we are all but wholly dependent upon Dio Cass. LXVII. 7 ff. and Suet. *Domit.* 6, for the story of Domitian's reign in Tacitus's *Histories* has not come down to us. These conflicts began as far back as 81 A.D. and culminated about the years 85–88, the final subjugation of the Dacians, however, not occurring till the reign of Trajan. Excepting a few temporary successes, these years were signalized by the most disastrous reverses which Rome had sustained since the defeat of Varus in 9 A.D. Domitian himself repeatedly went to the seat of war, but his attack upon the German Marcomanni and Quadi was repulsed and he himself had to agree to a humiliating peace with Decebalus, the great leader of the Dacians. **temeritate**

. . . **per ignaviam** : on this characteristic variation, see *Introd.* p. xxxiv.

21. militares viri : a phrase of frequent occurrence in Tacitus, designating men of rank and military experience as opposed to the common *milites* of the cohort. Here it may be rendered *officers*.

22. expugnati : of persons first in a single passage of Caesar, viz. *B.G.* VII. 10, 1, then repeatedly in Livy, e.g. XXII. 30, 2, and in later prose. **limite** : the celebrated *limes Romanus* or frontier line of defences, stretching from the Rhine near Cologne to Ratisbon on the Danube, a distance of 350 miles. Domitian had built and laid out a considerable part of it.

23. et ripa : here and *Germ.* 28, 18, of the Danube, but elsewhere in Tacitus, when used absolutely, it refers to the Rhine, the context preventing any ambiguity. — The *et* is epexegetic, *that is to say.* So *Ann.* I. 1, *consilium mihi pauca de Augusto et extrema tradere.* **possessione** : sc. *provinciarum.*

24. dubitatum : *was in question, at stake.* With the phrase, cp. Lucret. III. 836; with the thought, Cic. *Acad. Pr.* II. 43, 132. **damna damnis continuarentur** : *when one disaster followed closely upon the other.* Cp. Liv. II. 54, 2, *continuatur paci externae confestim discordia domi;* XXXI. 41, 17; Lucret. III. 71.

25. omnis annus : *year after year.* **funeribus** : *deaths.* In this signification, the word is poetic and in Tacitus found only here, though he repeatedly uses it in the equally poetic, but rare, sense of a dead body, a meaning unsuitable to the present passage. **poscebatur . . . Agricola** : observe the effective word-order and sonorous rhythm, in keeping with the significance of the statement itself.

26. comparantibus cunctis : Tacitus, for euphonic reasons, habitually avoids *omnibus* after forms in *-ibus*, using *cunctis* or *universis* instead.

27. constantiam : *intrepidity*, opposed to *formido*, as *rigorem* to *inertia.* **expertum bellis animum** : unless Tacitus wrote *belli*, as in Verg. *Aen.* X. 173, *belli inexpertos*, *Hist.* IV. 76, *militem . . . expertumque belli*, it will be preferable to take *bellis* in the sense of *proeliis*, so e.g. *Hist.* IV. 58, *signum belli Batavus dabit*, for Agricola's military experience was confined to the war against the Britons. On *et* after an asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. xxviii.

29. auris verberatas : *the ears were tormented*, a colloquial metaphor, found as early as Plautus, e.g. *Amph.* I. 1, 177. **dum** : *while.* with the imperfect indicative, for temporal *cum*, e.g. *Hist.* I. 1.

30. amore et fide: sc. *erga Domitianum. Adhortabantur* must be supplied by zeugma out of *exstimulabant.* Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxii. — With the combination, cp. *Hist.* I. 76 and ch. 32, 4. The ablatives are causal. **malignitate et livore**: sc. *in Agricolam.* Instrumental ablatives, joined to balance the synonymic group preceding. On the collocation, see note *Dial.* 23, 19.

Page 28. **1. pronum**: a favorite word of Tacitus, construed also with *ad* or *in.* With dative as here, ch. 33, 13. **deterioribus**: neuter. Tacitus is habitually unmindful of the possible ambiguity of such forms. Cp. e.g. ch. 1, 3; 16, 22; *Dial.* 19, 8; 21, 15; *Hist.* I. 51, *recentibus; Ann.* IV. 59, *incidentibus,* and especially often in the genitive plural.

2. suis virtutibus . . . vitiis aliorum: on the alliterative antithesis combined with chiasmus, see *Introd.* p. xxviii, and with the sentiment, cp. Cic. *pro leg. Man.* 23, 67, *quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non cum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus.*

3. ipsam gloriam: i.e. the very fame which Agricola, according to ch. 40, 8 ff., had so studiously avoided. **praeceps agebatur**: *hurled headlong.* The prominence now acquired is represented, not as a lofty goal to be sought, but as a dangerous abyss. Cp. ch. 5, 10, and *Ann.* XV. 23, *unde gloria egregiis viris et pericula gliscebant.*

Chapter 42. **4. annus**, etc.: Africa and Asia, the two most important senatorial provinces, were every year distributed, as a rule by lot, among the two senior ex-consuls. As the interval which was usually allowed to elapse between the consulship and this proconsulship seems to have fluctuated between five and thirteen years, it is impossible to determine exactly the date here alluded to. Agricola had been appointed consul in the fall of 77 A.D., and Tacitus left Rome, undoubtedly in some official capacity, about 89/90 (cp. ch. 45, 4). As it is intrinsically more probable that Domitian had thus honored Tacitus, *before* the expediency of rejecting the father-in-law had presented itself to him, than that he should have followed up this insult by promoting the son-in-law, Agricola's candidature must be dated a year or two *after* Tacitus's departure.

5. sortiretur: *he was to draw lots for.* On the final subjunctive, see note ch. 34, 5. **Civica**: *C. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis*, legatus pro praetore of lower Moesia in 82 A.D. His consulship, not elsewhere recorded, was therefore probably subsequent to this date, for

the governors of the minor provinces were rarely *consulares*, and his proconsulship, during the incumbency of which he was, according to Suet. *Domit.* 10, executed by Domitian, may thus have been awarded to him unusually early or *extra sortem*. Cp. the case of M. Lepidus in Tac. *Ann.* III. 32.

6. **consilium**: i.e. Agricola, with the fate of Civica before his eyes, had a good reason for declining the dangerous office. **exemplum**: *precedent.* — On the medial position of the predicate, see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

8. **ultro**: *gratuitously*, i.e. they were so eager to have Agricola withdraw that they could not wait till he had done so of his own accord, a probability foreshadowed by *nec . . . deerat*, but actually asked him to announce his decision to them at once.

9. **occultius**: *concealing their purpose*, opposed to *non iam obscuri*. **quietem et otium**: on this synonymic collocation, cp. note ch. 6, 26.

10. **adprobanda**: *in indorsing* or *commending*. **non iam obscuri**: i.e. throwing off their mask and revealing their real design. On the adjective for adverb, see note ch. 5, 2.

11. **suadentes simul terrentesque**: *by entreaty and threats alike.* — On the position of *simul*, see *Introd.* p. xxvi. **pertraxere**: *dragged him right into the presence of.*

12. **paratus simulatione**: *well equipped with hypocrisy.* In this sense *paratus* occurs again, *Dial.* 33, 14, *paratiorem ad eas exercitationes venturum.* — Domitian pretended not to know what the object or the motive of Agricola's visit was. **in adrogantiam compositus**: sc. *vultum*, *assuming an expression of hauteur.* — This meaning of *compositus*, usually with *in*, seems to be peculiar to Tacitus, and is perhaps a Graecism. Cp. *Hist.* I. 45; II. 9, *in maestitiam c.*, and Thucyd. VI. 58, *τῇ ὄψει πλασάμενος πρὸς τὴν ξυμφοράν.*

13. **se excusantis**: an analogous instance, and similarly expressed, is recorded in the *Acta Arvalium: Sorte proconsul factus provinciae Asiae se excusavit* (sc. C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus, about 100 A.D., under Trajan). Cp. also *Ann.* III. 35, *Lepidum et Blaesum nominarit, ex quis proconsule Africae legeretur . . . intentius excusante se Lepido.* Tacitus does not omit the reflexive pronoun in this phrase, except when the accusative of the thing alleged in excuse is expressed.

14. **agi sibi gratias**: this was part of the *prudentia* of Agricola, referred to below, by which he averted dangerous consequences. Cp.

Sen. *de tranq.* 14, 4, *Gaio Caesari agebant gratias et quorum libri occisi et quorum bona ablata erant; de ira,* II. 33, 2. **beneficii invidia**: *the invidiousness of the alleged favor.* — For a similar irony, closely approaching the figure oxymoron, cp. *Hist.* I. 21, *exilii honorem expectandum.*

15. salarium . . . proconsulare, etc.: *the salary usually given to a proconsul*, namely, of the provinces mentioned. Salaries of the governors of provinces were regulated by Augustus according to rank. What this was for the proconsuls of the senatorial provinces of Asia and Africa is not known, nor, what is unlikely, whether it was the same for all consular proconsuls. The Emperor Macrinus in 217 A.D. gave Aufidius Fronto a million sesterces, about $43,000, on his refusing the proconsulship of Africa, but this date is too late to allow of any inferences for the time of Domitian, nor is it at all certain whether that sum represents the regular salary even of the third century, there being no restriction upon the generosity of the emperor, and he may well have had special reasons for it in view of the action of Aufidius.

16. quibusdam . . . concessum: it is not known who these were.

17. offensus: with infinitive only here, Phaedr. IV. 11, 6, and Suet. *Aug.* 89. **ex conscientia**: the innuendo seems unjust, for Domitian's real motives and hostile attitude toward Agricola were made sufficiently transparent by the rejection of his candidature, together with the refusal to give him the salary granted to others under similar circumstances. **ne quod vetuerat . . . emisse**: a good instance of Tacitean over-conciseness. Domitian refused to *grant* the salary, but Agricola's refusal to *accept* it could only have been purchased *after* it had been granted.

18. Proprium, etc.: with the sentiment may be compared Sen. *de ira* II. 33, 1, *hoc habent pessimum animi . . . insolentes: quos laeserunt et oderunt.*

19. vero: *now*, introducing the application of the general maxim to a particular case. **praeceps in iram**: so in Liv. XXIII. 7, 12, and like *promptus, pronus, facilis* construed both with *in* and *ad*. **inrevocabilior** = *implacabilior* (its substitute elsewhere in Tacitus) is chiefly poetic and rare. It occurs first in Lucret. I. 468, where it is applied to time.

22. famam fatumque provocabat: *challenged distinction and death.* The alliterative collocation is Vergilian, e.g. *Aen.* VII. 79; VIII. 731. — *fatum* is not used elsewhere in Tacitus of an untimely

or violent death, but *fama* in its present sense of an unenviable distinction or notoriety is generally common.

23. Sciant, etc.: this famous passage, admirable alike in expression and in the sonorousness of its stately rhythm, not only sounds the very keynote of Agricola's political convictions and lifelong practice, but it also embodies the principles by which Tacitus himself was guided in his own career, as is evident from the numerous passages in which he inculcates the same opportunistic and temporizing doctrines. Cp. e.g. *Ann.* VI. 10 (16) of L. Piso, *quotiens necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans.* **inlicita**: *disloyalty.*

24. posse . . . esse: a favorite collocation of Tacitus. Cp. e.g. ch. 44, 2, *potest videri . . . effugisse.* **magnōs vĭrōs ēssĕ . . . inclārŭērūnt**: observe the fine effect of these two most favored of rhythmical *clausulae*, giving a sonorous finish to weighty sentiments. Cp. note ch. 30, 12.

25. industria ac vigor adsint: on the plural predicate with two abstract nouns joined by *ac*, see note ch. 4, 21.

26. plerique = *plurimi*, the classical signification, but very rare in Tacitus. Cp. note ch. 1, 10. **per abrupta**: sc. *escendentes*, i.e. the majority who lack the qualities just mentioned and injudiciously rebel against authority may, indeed, also reach great renown, but they do so over perilous paths, their effort culminating, without any ultimate benefit to their country, in a sensational death. Tacitus does not believe in political martyrdom, if it is not likely to bring about the realization of the objects fought for. Cp. *Ann.* IV. 20; XIV. 12, *sibi causam periculi fecit* (sc. *Thrasea*), *ceteris libertatis initium non praebuit.*

Chapter 43. **29. Finis**, etc.: this opening paragraph closely resembles Cic. *de orat.* III. 2, 8, *fuit hoc* (sc. *mors Crassi*) *luctuosum suis, acerbum patriae, grave bonis omnibus.* It is a rhetorical τόπος, prescribed for the *epilogus.* Cp. *Introd.* pp. xviii f.

30. extraneis: *outsiders;* in Tacitus again, *Ann.* IV. 11, of one not related. — *nobis* — *amicis* — *extraneis* — *ignotis*, mark a descending climax. **etiam . . . que non** = *et ne quidem.* So again in Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 3; XVI. 22, *quoque* — *non* being frequently thus used. **ignotisque**: *and not even to those who knew him not.* In this active sense, for *ignarus*, the word is rare, but found e.g. in Naevius, Cicero, Nepos, and occasionally in post-Augustan Latin. In T. again, *Ann.* II. 71. **vulgus . . . populus**: the collocation is fre-

quent in Tacitus, e.g. *Dial.* 7, 17, *vulgus imperitum et tunicatus hic populus. populus* often has a more or less political meaning; *vulgus*, on the other hand, is the people as viewed from the social or intellectual side — the ignorant rabble.

Page 29. **1. hic aliud agens**: *indifferent, apathetic* to public affairs. Cp. *Dial.* 32, 18.

2. per fora et circulos: *in public and at private gatherings.* In this sense, *circulus* is very common, but in Tacitus the word occurs only here and *Ann.* III. 54, *in conviviis et circulis.* **locuti sunt**: sc. *mortem Agricolae, discussed.* So e.g. *Hist.* I. 50, *captam totiens . . . urbem . . . loquebantur;* IV. 12, *caesos exercitus . . . non ut mala loquebantur;* and *Ann.* XVI. 22, *nunc te . . . civitas loquitur.*

3. laetatus est, etc.: on the *collocatio verborum* see *Introd.* p. xxvi.

4. Augebat: *but what increased . . . was.* On the emphatic position see *Introd.* p. xxvi and cp. Cic. *Brut.* I. 2, *augebat etiam molestiam quod . . . vir egregius . . . extinctus.*

5. nobis nihil comperti quod . . . ausim: with the change of the person, common in all languages, cp. e.g. Cic. *ad fam.* V. 12, 1, *ardeo . . . ut nomen nostrum*, and note to *Dial.* 5, 4.

6. ceterum: *but be this as it may*, resumptive, as often. **valetudinem**: *illness*, the word being rarely used of health without some attributive, like *bona, optima.* **ex more principatus**, etc. = *principum . . . visentium*, abstract for concrete, on which see note ch. 16, 21. — It is related of the Emperors Trajan and Alexander Severus that they called upon their sick friends in person.

7. libertorum . . . primi: elsewhere in Tacitus the usual epithet of *liberti* or *amici* is *intimi*, here applied to the physicians.

8. cura: *solicitude.* — Observe the chiasmus, *cura* referring more particularly to *medici*, *inquisitio* to the *liberti.*

9. momenta: *stages.*

10. dispositos cursores: *relay couriers.* From ch. 45, 15 it would appear that Domitian was at the time in his Alban villa, a little over one mile from Rome. **constabat**: the imperfect shifts the responsibility for this statement from the author, who was not present at the death of Agricola, to those who reported these details at the time. See note ch. 38, 21, and below l. 14. — With this passage cp. *Ann.* II. 69, *simul missi a Pisone incusabantur ut valetudinis adversa rimantes*, the charge that Germanicus was poisoned being, as in the

present instance, also unsubstantiated; 73, *praetuleritne veneficii signa parum constitit.*

11. nullo credente, etc.: i.e. no one believing that tidings, if received with genuine sorrow, would be sought with such eager haste, the implication being that Domitian knew the cause of Agricola's illness, and desired to learn as quickly as possible whether the poison had done its deadly work. Thus Tacitus virtually expresses his private conviction that the charge, though it could not be directly brought home to the emperor, was substantially true. See also ch. 44, 7; 45, 28 f. Dio Cass. LXVI. 20 accuses Domitian directly of the murder of Agricola. **Speciem**, etc.: in his countenance he exhibited what was to pass as an indication of sincere grief of heart. With the phrase, cp. Cic. *Verr.* I. 8, 21, *cupiebam animi dolorem vultu tegere*, and especially Curt. VI. 9, 1 (32), *vultu praeferens dolorem animi.* — *species*, in the sense of a sham pretext, as opposed to what is real and sincere, is common in all periods of the language.

12. securus iam odii: i.e. he was no longer troubled by the uneasiness caused by his animosity toward Agricola, and could now with complacency affect real sorrow. — *securus*, with a genitive, occurs first in Vergil, e.g. *Aen.* I. 350, and repeatedly in Tacitus.

13. et qui: *being a man who*, subjunctive of characteristic.

15. piissimae: this superlative was censured by Cic. *Phil.* XIII. 19, 43, as an unheard-of solecism committed by Antony, but, according to an ancient grammarian (Pompeius), Cicero employed it himself in his *Letters*, and it is certainly a recognized form in post-Augustan Latin, being especially common in sepulchral inscriptions. **Domitianum**: the omission of an epithet is doubtless intended to heighten the contrast with the preceding laudatory superlatives.

16. honore iudicioque: *as a mark of honor and a sincere compliment.*

18. bono patre . . . malum principem: the antithesis is emphasized, as often, by alliteration. See *Introd.* p. xxviii. The custom of bequeathing part of an estate to the emperor, so as to prevent its confiscation, was common. See note *Dial.* 13, 19.

Chapter 44. **20. Gaio Caesare tertium consule**, etc.: i.e. June 13, 40 A.D. Only one consul is here given, because the colleague of Caligula died before entering upon his office, and, hence, only one name was recorded in the *Fasti consulares.*

22. decimo, etc.: i.e. August 23, 93 A.D. **Conlega**: *Pompeius*

Conlega. He is mentioned as the youngest ex-consul to give his opinion in regard to the punishment of Marius Priscus, the proconsul of Africa, who was convicted of extortion in 100 A.D., Pliny and Tacitus appearing for the plaintiff. **Prisco**: the *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* are alike unknown, and even the cognomen is doubtful, being also given as Priscinus.

23. **habitum**: *external appearance.*

24. **decentior quam sublimior**: *attractive rather than imposing.* — *decentior* serves as a comparative for *decorus*, the Latin avoiding, if possible, the collocation of *r's*, so e.g. *ferus*, *ferocior*; *mirus*, *mirabilior.* The present form is, however, rare, except in Quintilian. **nihil metus in vultu**: i.e. there was nothing in his countenance, as in the case of Domitian (ch. 45, 22; Plin. *Pan.* 48), to inspire fear. — *metus*, in an active sense, is common in Tacitus and post-Augustan writers.

25. **gratia oris**: *genial, sweet expression.* In this objective sense, the word is found only in poetry and post-Augustan prose, and is especially frequent in Quintilian, e.g. VI. *prooem.* 7, *quid ille gratiae in vultu.* **supererat**: *predominated.* For other meanings of this word, cp. ch. 22, 22; 34, 29; 44, 2; 45, 7, and the discussion in Gell. *N. A.* I. 22.

26. **ipse**, contrasted with *habitus.* In Greek, τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον . . . ὁ δ' αὐτός. **medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus**: the comparison of life with a race-track is a commonplace, and occurs as early as Plautus, e.g. *Stich.* I. 2, 23 (vs. 84), *decurso aetatis spatio*; but the phrase *medio in spatio*, with the unusual position of the adjective as here, seems to have been taken from Cic. *de orat.* III. 2, 7, a passage which bears other points of resemblance to these closing chapters. See below. — *integrae* is virtually equivalent to an appositional clause, defining *spatio aetatis.* We may, therefore, translate: *Cut off in the very prime of life, while his faculties were still unimpaired.*

27. **quantum ad**: the usual form in Tacitus for the more common *quod attinet ad*, on which see note ch. 33, 19.

28. **Opibus nimiis**, etc.: *he took no delight in excessive riches, and, as a matter of fact, resplendent wealth had not fallen to his lot. speciosus* is a very strong expression. Cp. *Ann.* III. 55, *opibus . . . speciosus.* — The statement itself is amply confirmed by other passages in this treatise, for the loss of Agricola's patrimony (ch. 4, 7; 7, 8), his conduct as praetor (ch. 6, 29), his scrupulous honesty (ch. 6, 20; 9, 17), and the special emphasis laid upon his not receiving a procon-

sular salary (ch. 42, 15), are all alike incompatible with great wealth. Cp. also Dio Cass. LXVI. 20, *ἐν τε ἀτιμίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ . . . ἔζησεν.* **Quippe**: frequent in Tacitus in the sense of *enim* or *nam*, with the usual ellipsis. But this lack of worldly goods Agricola bore with resignation, for, etc. He thus formed a marked contrast to Asinius Marcellus, of whom Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 40, says: *clarus neque morum spernendus habebatur, nisi quod paupertatem praecipuum malorum credebat.*

29. vera bona, etc, : the well-known Stoic doctrine that the wise and virtuous man is rich and a king.

30. impleverat: *he enjoyed to the fullest extent, were his in abundance.* In Tacitus again, *Hist.* I. 16, *impletum est omne consilium, si te bene elegi*, but quite frequent elsewhere. — It is a kind of *constructio praegnans*, as *Hist.* III. 40, *proditam a Lucilio Basso Ravennatem classem* (= handed over through the treason of). Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **et consulari**: On the consulship as the goal of a Roman's ambition, see note *Dial.* 13, 29.

Page 30. **1. triumphalibus**, etc. : in this passage the honor of the triumphal ornaments is treated with less depreciation than in ch. 40, 21. All such distinctions were, however, regarded by the Stoics as *ἀδιάφορα*. Cp. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 5, Περὶ ὕψους, 44. **adstruere**: *bestow in addition.* In this figurative sense first in Ovid, *A. A.* II. 119, thereafter common, e.g. Plin. *Epist.* III. 2, 5. In Tacitus again, *Hist.* I. 78. — With the thought, cp. Isoc. *Euag.* 28, *τὶ γὰρ ἀπέλιπεν εὐδαιμονίας*, etc. and *Introd.* p. xxxvi.

2. filia . . . superstitibus: on the ablative absolute at the close, see *Introd.* p. xxvii. **potest . . . effugisse**: on the *collocatio verborum*, cp. note ch. 42, 24.

3. dignitate = *dignitate senatoria.* So again *Ann.* III. 17; without the ellipsis, *Ann.* III. 30; XVI. 17.

4. adfinitatibus et amicitiis = *adfinibus et amicis*, here used in an asyndetic enumeration, because the preceding nouns are abstract. Cp. note ch. 16, 21. — The concrete sense of the former occurs in Tacitus only here and *Ann.* XI. 24; of the latter, *Hist.* I. 10; II. 63. 87; *Ann.* II. 27. 77; IV. 40; V. 2. The thought is a commonplace, as is clear from Menander, *Rhet. Gr.* IX. 293 (III. 420).

6. augurio votisque: correspond chiastically to *durare in . . . lucem*, and *principem . . . videre*, a word like *optabat* being supplied with *votis* out of *ominabatur*, i.e. in his prayers he hoped to see the

present happy age, and he prophetically foretold the accession of Trajan to the throne. Trajan's achievements in Germany before 91 A.D., the year of his consulship, had drawn attention to him, as in the similar case of Vespasian (ch. 13, 28 ff.) and his future greatness seems to have been generally predicted. Cp. Plin. *Paneg.* 5, 94; Dio Cass. LXVII. 12, 1. The involved structure of the sentence was due to the author's striving after conciseness.

7. **apud nostras auris**: *in my presence.* An instance of synecdoche. This particular quasi-personification occurs in four other Tacitean passages, viz. *Hist.* I. 26; *Ann.* I. 31; II. 39; IV. 29, but apparently not elsewhere. **ominabatur** = *augurabatur et valde optabat.* An instance of the so-called *constructio praegnans.* Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxiii. **festinatae mortis**: objective genitive. The passive meaning is first found in Sallust, e.g. *Iug.* 64, 6; with the implication of prematurely inflicted death, e.g. Juv. IV. 95 f., *mors . . . festinata.*

8. **evasisse**: sc. *eum*, is the subject of *solacium tulit*, sc. *nobis*, as contrasted with *sicut ei* (l. 5).

9. **spiramenta**: in this figurative sense the word occurs only here and in Tacitus's imitator, Amm. Marcell. XXIX. 1, 40, who substitutes *mora* for *intervalla;* XIV. 7, 15.

10. **continuo et velut uno ictu**: i.e. blows dealt out so unceasingly as to amount to but a single stroke. *continuo* is not used as an adverb by Tacitus, but may be conveniently translated as such here.

11. **exhausit** = *perfodit;* merely a strengthened form of *haurire* which is very often used in this sense. Cp. e.g. Claud. Quadrig. apud Gell. *N. A.* IX. 13, 17; Lucret. V. 1322; Liv. VII. 10, 10, *uno alteroque subinde ictu ventrem atque inguina hausit;* Tac. *Hist.* I. 41, *iugulum eius hausisse.* The other, generally accepted meaning, *to drink up the blood, sap the strength of*, though still more common both in the simple and compound verb, would unnecessarily introduce a mixed metaphor.

Chapter 45. 12. **Non vidit**, etc.: such passages are typical of rhetorical *consolationes*, a species of composition much cultivated in ancient literature. Cp. Cic. *de orat.* III. 2, 8, *non vidit* (sc. Crassus) *flagrantem bello Italiam . . . non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos . . . non exilium generi, non . . . C. Mari fugam . . . non illam . . . caedem omnium crudelissimam*, etc. Sulpicius in Cic. *ad*

fam. IV. 5, 5; Sen. Rhet. *Suas.* VI. 6; Sen. *ad Marc.* 20, 5; *Introd.* p. xviii. **obsessam curiam**, etc.: this, according to Tac. *Ann.* XVI. 27, occurred under Nero at the trial of Thrasea. Here the same seems to have been related merely on rhetorical grounds to round out the picture.

13. consularium caedes: of the twelve victims of Domitian, mentioned by Suet. *Domit.* 10. 11. 15, nine were ex-consuls. Agricola's name is not among them, doubtless because the author did not regard the emperor as in any way responsible for his untimely death. See note ch. 43, 11. **feminarum**: e.g. Gratilla, the wife of Arulenus Rusticus, Arria and Fannia, respectively the wife and daughter of Paetus Thrasea.

14. exilia et fugas: the latter is added as the wider term, including *exilium*, *relegatio*, and other modes of banishment. See *Introd.* p. xxx. — The same collocation is found, e.g. Cic. *de orat.* III. 3, 9, and with the plural of *fuga*, in Sen. *Agam.* 123. **una adhuc victoria Carus Mettius**: *Mettius Carus*, a notorious informer in the reign of Domitian, known as the accuser, e.g. of Senecio (see note ch. 2, 18), of Fannia, and of Pliny the Younger (cp. Plin. *Epist.* VII. 27, 14). He was himself denounced by one Heliodorus and executed, probably shortly after the death of Domitian. He is frequently mentioned together with Baebius Massa. — On the transposition of the cognomen, cp. *Introd.* p. xxv. **Una . . . victoria**: *on the strength of as yet but one victory.* Ablative of value. The phrase, like *censebatur*, is sarcastic. — The identity of this first victim is unknown.

15. censebatur = *aestimabatur*, *he was held in esteem*, a post-Augustan usage of the verb, on which see note *Dial.* 39, 30. **intra**: *within the walls of*, the preposition being strongly emphatic. **Albanam arcem**: Domitian's favorite villa is so designated by Juv. IV. 145 and Dio Cass. LXVII. 1, 2, τὸ Ἀλβανὸν . . . τινὰ ἀκρόπολιν.

16. Messalini: *L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus*, consul 73 A.D., one of the most infamous *delatores* at the court of Domitian, denounced in scathing language by Plin. *Epist.* IV. 22, 5, and by Juv. IV. 113 ff., who styles him *mortifer* and *monstrum*. He was blind and seems not to have survived Domitian (†96). **strepebat**: *resounded*. In this tropical sense the word is extremely rare, e.g. Plin. *N. H.* VIII. 42, 64, 156. **Massa Baebius**: *Baebius Massa*, procurator of Africa in 70 A.D., and even at that time, according to Tac. *Hist.* IV. 50, *optimo cuique exitiosus et inter causas malorum quae mox tulimus, saepius rediturus.* Agricola died just before the impeachment of Baebius by

Pliny and Senecio for malfeasance in the government of Hispania. The trial resulted in his conviction, but the sentence was not carried out.

17. nostrae . . . manus: i.e. of senators, including Tacitus. Cp. Plin. IX. 13, 2, *in senatu senator senatori . . . manus intulisset*, where the trial of Helvidius is narrated at length. **Helvidium**: son of Helvidius Priscus (on whom cp. note ch. 2, 18), consul 87 A.D. He was accused of lèse majesté and executed. The date of his death is fixed by this passage, i.e. shortly after August 23, 93 A.D.

18. Maurici: *Iunius Mauricus*, brother of Rusticus, whose execution is referred to in ch. 2, 17, an intimate friend and correspondent of Pliny the Younger, and highly esteemed by Nerva and Trajan. In 70 A.D. he requested Vespasian to submit to the senate the names of all informers found in the imperial records. Cp. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 40. He was banished by Domitian, but recalled by Nerva. **visus**: sc. *foedavit*, to be supplied by zeugma out of *perfudit*, and this the more easily, because *sanguis* is often joined with both these verbs. I.e. us the sight of Mauricus, sent into exile, and of Rusticus, led to execution, has polluted; us Senecio besprinkled with his innocent blood.

19. Senecio: see note ch. 2, 18. **tamen**: i.e. despite his cruel disposition. **subtraxit oculos**: the phrase, found also *Ann.* III. 52; XVI. 26, and its analogue, *subtrahere aures*, seems to be Tacitean.

21. videre: sc. *eum*. **adspici**: sc. *ab eo*.

22. subscriberentur: i.e. the ever-present informers would record our very sighs to be made to testify against us on some future occasion. **denotandis**: *to make mental note of*. On the final gerundive, see note ch. 23, 23; with *sufficere*, as here, e.g. *Ann.* III. 72, and Quint. I. 9, 3.

23. palloribus: abstract for concrete, cp. note ch. 16, 21. Here perhaps influenced by *rubor*, with which it seems intentionally contrasted. — Domitian's very look sufficed to drive the blood from many a face, which would not escape the *delatores*. **vultus et rubor**: *with its ruddy glow*. This is attested by Tac. *Hist.* IV. 40; Plin. *Paneg.* 48; Suet. *Dom.* 18, though different and less disparaging reasons for it were occasionally given.

24. contra pudorem muniebat: his ruddy complexion did not allow a blush of shame, which his atrocities should have called forth, to be seen or recognized as such. The passage seems slightly inconsistent with ch. 42, 14, *nec erubuit*. With the statement itself, cp. Sen. *Epist.* 11, 3.

This matchless epilogue (ch. 45, 25 ff.), so full of piercing tenderness and solemn eloquence, is in its reflections to a large extent made up of well-known and often recurring rhetorical commonplaces, but such is the consummate art of Tacitus that he has nevertheless breathed a new originality into borrowed material, and at the same time succeeded in creating the indelible impression of a spontaneous and deeply sincere outburst of sorrow and affection. See also *Introd.* p. xix.

25 f. Tu vero, etc.: cp. Xen. *Ages.* 5, 3, *βίος τε εὐκλεὴς καὶ θάνατος ὡραῖος*; Cic. *de orat.* III. 3, 12, *ego vero te, Crasse, cum vitae flore, tum mortis opportunitate . . . et ortum et extinctum arbitror.*

27. constans et libens: *with courage and cheerfulness.*

28. fatum excepisti: Tacitus has some thirty phrases for death and dying, he being fond of working variations upon commonplace expressions. Cp. in this treatise, ch. 1, 14; 2, 18; 3, 19. 24; 5, 3; 7, 8; 15, 27; 16, 32; 29, 2; 31, 17; 38, 21; 41, 25; 42, 5; 43, 29. 9; 44, 21. 27. 11; 45, 13. 19. 27. 1. 8. *Excipere fatum* occurs e.g. Sen. *Epist.* 76, 23. **tamquam . . . donares**: the *tamquam* clause, giving the inference of others (l. 27), according to Tacitean usage, on which see note ch. 15, 19, is based more particularly upon *libens*, for a man such as Agricola must be assumed to have met death *constans*, even if there had been no suspicion of foul play. That he should by his manner have given the impression of exonerating Domitian would be quite in accord with his character, as drawn in this treatise. **pro virili portione**: apparently a new coinage to avoid the hackneyed *pro virili parte* (not in Tacitus). The phrase occurs also *Hist.* III. 20, but is generally very rare. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxv.

30. erepti: the use of a perfect passive participle for an abstract noun is characteristic of Tacitean style. Of the nearly thirty instances, however, it is found in the smaller works only here and *Dial.* 29, 22; 37, 27.

Page 31. **1. valetudini** = *aegro.* Cp. note ch. 16, 21.

3. animo figeremus: a phrase first found in Verg. *Aen.* IV. 15. — On the ablative of place where, see note ch. 12, 4. — With the sentiment, cp. the words put into the mouth of the dying Germanicus in *Ann.* II. 71 (cited below, ch. 46, 12). **Noster hic**: this collocation is especially common in the *Dialogus*, e.g. 16, 15, *hunc nostrum;* in the later works only here and *Hist.* II. 47, *hanc virtutem vestram.* The demonstrative, moreover, which elsewhere always precedes, here

follows, because of the anaphora, *noster — nostrum — nobis.* — The reference is more particularly to Tacitus and his wife.

4. condicione: *owing to, through the circumstance,* the noun taking the place of a preposition, like *beneficio* (*Dial.* 8. 29), *ope* (*Hist.* IV. 24), *merito* (*Hist.* V. 4). — On the absence of Tacitus between 89–93/4, see note ch. 42, 4 and *Introd.* p. vi.

5. ante quadriennium = *quadriennio ante,* a very common idiom in Tacitus and post-Augustan Latin generally. It occurs first in Nepos, *Dat.* 11, *ante aliquot dies.* *Ante* and likewise *post* gradually lost their adverbial character, and were regarded only as prepositions. **Omnia . . . superfuere honori tuo**: *all the ministrations of affection were thine in abundance.* In this sense *honor* is Vergilian, but rare. Cp. *Aen.* XII. 56 f., *si quis Amatae Tangit honos animum.* — With the meaning of *superfuere,* cp. *Germ.* 6, 4; 26, 18; *Hist.* I. 51, and note ch. 44, 25.

7. comploratus = *simul ploratus.* The earliest instance of this usage, for *cum* in composition with a verb either intensifies or is equivalent to *inter se.* The present meaning of the compound is a Graecism, especially common with verbs denoting sorrow or mourning, and hence the very few similar instances found in Latin, before Tertullian and other African writers, occur in what are evident translations, e.g. Ter. *Ad. Prol.* 6; Cic. *Top.* 3, 12.

8. aliquid pathetically expresses the condition of the sick man, who, already in the shadow of death, is yet dimly conscious of the absence of his only child.

Chapter 46. **10. Si quis piorum**, etc.: the belief in a hereafter for the virtuous and the good has found frequent expression in the ancient poets and philosophers, one of the earliest literary passages being Eur. *Alc.* 744 f., Εἰ δέ τι κἀκεῖ Πλέον ἔστ' ἀγαθοῖς, etc., and in Roman writers, Plaut. *Trin.* 549 f., *Fortunatorum memorant insulas quo cuncti, qui aetatem egerint caste suam, conveniant.* — The statement of a transference to the Elysian fields is prescribed for the *encomium* by the rhetorician Menander, *Rhet. Gr.* III. 414, 16 Sp. See also *Introd.* p. xix. **ut sapientibus placet**: i.e. the philosophers, more particularly, it would seem, the Stoic Chrysippus.

12. nosque et domum: on *que — et,* a favorite collocation in Tacitus, when the pronoun precedes, cp. note ch. 18, 10. **desiderio . . . lamentis**, etc., correspond chiastically to *nos* and *domum* (Agricola's wife and daughter). Such injunctions to survivors seem

to have been a rhetorical commonplace. Cp. the speech of the dying Germanicus in *Ann.* II. 71, *non hoc praecipuum amicorum munus est prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed quae voluerit meminisse, quae mandaverit exsequi*, and *Introd.* p. xix.

14. quas: i.e. *virtutes tuas iam in locum piorum translatas.* **fas est**: this religious term, in place of *licet* or the like, seems intentionally chosen, for it was a widespread belief among the ancients that loud and excessive lamentations disturb the peace of the dead, hence also *placide quiescas* above. Cp. Stat. *Silv.* II. 6, 93 Vl.

15. inmortalibus: *lifelong.* In this restricted meaning, e.g. Plancus in Cic. *ad fam.* X. 11, 1, *inmortales ago tibi gratias agamque dum vivam;* ad Q. fr. III. 1, 3, 9; Tac. *Hist.* IV. 32. Cp. the analogous use of *aeternus*, e.g. Lucret. III. 907; Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 55. **si natura suppeditet, similitudine**: observe the force of the subjunctive, implying that while their *admiratio* was boundless, they might possibly not be able to reach the standard set by his lofty character.

17. Id . . . praeceperim: *this thought . . . I would impress upon.* Potential subjunctive, as in ch. 10, 25. — The infinitive after *praecipio* occurs again in Tacitus in ch. 38, 29, but it may here have been used because of the *ut* clause following.

19. facta dictaque: the usual order of this phrase, common in both Greek (λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ) and Latin, is reversed to emphasize the *deeds* of Agricola as the more important. **secum revolvant**: *turn over in their minds.* In this peculiar sense the word is first found in Verg. *Aen.* II. 101, and then occasionally in later poetry, but in prose only here and again *Ann.* III. 18, *quanto plura recentium . . . revolvo.* The figure seems to be taken from the ancient method of reading, the papyrus having to be unrolled on the left, if a reperusal was intended.

20. formamque ac figuram: an alliterative collocation, especially frequent in Cicero, and not rare elsewhere. — Cp. note ch. 33, 12.

21. corporis complectantur . . . imaginibus: this is said in allusion to a custom often referred to in Greek and Latin poetry. Cp. e.g. Stat. *Silv.* II. 7, 126 ff. Vl. **non quia . . sed** for the more usual *non quod*, with the subjunctive introduces a rejected reason, the true grounds being added with *sed.* So often in Tacitus.

23. simulacra . . . possis: the idea that character and achievements live in memory long after commemorative statues have vanished finds its earliest expression in Pindar (*Nem.* V. 1), and is thereafter reiterated in various ways, by poets, historians, orators, and rhetoricians, throughout antiquity. Cp. esp. Xen. *Ages.* 11, 14, ἡ μὲν

τοῦ σώματος ἴσχυς γηράσκει, ἡ δὲ ψυχῆς ῥώμη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀγήρατός ἐστιν; Isocr. *Euag.* 73; Sen. *ad Polyb.* 18, 2; Stat. *Silv.* V. 1, 1; Amm. Marc. XIV. 6, 8, and Tac. *Ann.* IV. 38.

25. tuis ipse: *your own.* Cp. note ch. 1, 10.

26. Quidquid . . . rerum: note the equilibrium of clauses, the anaphora, and the sonorous rhythm of this fervent passage.

28. in fama rerum: *in the story of his deeds.* Cf. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 39, *claros rerum fama.*

29. veterum . . . obruit: observe the three successive alliterative groups. **oblivio obruit**: the phrase is found in a somewhat similar passage in Cic. *Brut.* 15, 60, *nisi unius esset Enni testimonio cognitum, hunc* (sc. Cethegum) *vetustas, ut alios fortasse multos, oblivione obruisset.* Cp. also the famous passage in Hor. *Carm.* IV. 9, 25 ff., *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona Multi; sed omnes inlacrimabiles Urguentur ignotique longa Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.* — Agricola came near meeting with the same fate, for, excepting two meagre references in Dio Cass., viz. XXXIX. 50, 4 and LXVI. 20, 1, our knowledge of his very existence is based entirely on this biography.

30. narratus et traditus superstes, correspond respectively and in the same order to *in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum*, and *in fama rerum*, i.e. Agricola's life, made known to men and handed down to posterity, will survive in this story of his deeds.

CRITICAL APPENDIX TO THE AGRICOLA.

THE deviations from the text of Halm[4] here noted follow the bracket. — *C. R.* refers to my *Notes to the Agricola* in the *Classical Review*, vol. XI. (1897), pp. 325–332. — *F.* to Furneaux's edition, Oxford, 1898. — A(Γ) = Vat. 3429; B(Δ) = Vat. 4498.

Chapter **3**, line 12. **set**] *et* — MSS. See *F.* ad loc.

4, 16. **ultra quam**] *ultraque quam* — Baehrens. Cp. *C. R.* 325.

4, 17. **ac senatori**] ⟨*ac senatori*⟩. Cp. *C. R.* 325. *Andresen* (and *F.* is disposed to agree with him) has objected to this deletion on the ground that *senatori* may be taken in an anticipatory sense, as in *Dial.* 28, 3, *principes liberos* (destined to be leaders) and *Ann.* III. 59, *rectorem generis humani* (the future ruler). This explanation would be acceptable if the text read *ac consuli*, expressive of the highest attainable goal, as in the examples just cited; but to reach senatorial rank was certainly no conspicuous achievement, and its mention immediately upon *Romano* is in the nature of an anti-climax.

6, 18. 20. **pro consule . . . pro consule**] *proconsulem . . . proconsul.*

6, 27. **tenor**] † *certior* — MSS. No satisfactory emendation of this admittedly corrupt reading has yet been proposed. *Tenor* (Rhenanus) gives a tolerable sense, but it is paleographically out of the question, and the word does not occur elsewhere in Tacitus. Cp. *C. R.* 325.

6, 29. **medio rationis**] *medio moderationis.* Cp. *C. R.* 326.

6, 2. **effecit**] *fecit* — MSS. Cp. Cic. *in Verr.* V. 2, 5; Ovid, *ex Pont.* I. 1, 65.

8, 23. **dignum est**: Tacitus elsewhere omits the copula after *dignum* and *indignum*. See *C. R.* 326. I have now retained it with the MSS. because the ellipsis of the copula had not yet reached the proportions it had in the later writings. See *Introd.* p. xxxii. Possibly also, as Andresen suggests, it may have been here designedly expressed to prevent *erat* from being understood.

9, 27. **Haud . . . elēgit.** I have given this senarius (or skazon) as a quotation. It is metrically perfect, contains a complete thought, poetically expressed, and could be omitted without disturbing the context. None of the other rhythmical lines in Tacitus satisfy all these conditions. See note ch. 10, 15.

10, 13. **fama est transgressa, sed**] *fama. sed transgressis et* — Purser, *Hermathena*, vol. X. (1898), p. 190, a paleographical improvement upon Schömann's emendation of the corrupted text (est transgressis sed, i.e. transgressis *et*). The *et* is the more appropriate, since *inmensum* and *enorme* are not synonymous in this passage. See note ad loc.

11, 8. **vi**] *usu* — MSS. Cp. Purser, l.c. p. 190 and note ad loc.

11, 11. **deprehendas . . . persuasione**] *deprehendas ac . . . persuasiones.* Cp. *C. R.* 326.

12, 4. **patiens frugum, fecundum**] *frugum patiens, fecundum.* Cp. *C. R.* 327. — The reading *arborum fecundum*, which has met with considerable favor, is rendered impossible by *tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt*, the same objection applying to *pecorum fecundum*, which Purser prefers, l.c. p. 190.

14, 11. **Veranius**] *Q. Veranius* — Ritter.

15, 23. **manum**] *manus* — Pomponius Laetus.

15, 2. **impetus integris**] *impetus* — MSS. Cp. *F.* ad loc.

16, 19. **cuiusque**] *quisque* — Nipperdey, the synchysis (cp. note *Dial.* 12, 7) being quite Tacitean. *suae cuiusque* seems too ambiguous.

16, 31. **esset, seditio**] *et seditio* — MSS. Cp. *F.* ad loc.

17, 6. **minuta . . . et**] *et minuta . . . ⟨et⟩* — see *C. R.* 327.

17, 13. **sustinuit⟨que⟩**] *sustinuitque* — MSS. Cp. *C. R.* 328.

18, 7. **subitis**] *dubiis* — MSS. See note ad loc.

18, 9. **patrius**] *proprius* (p̃rius — MSS.). Cp. note ad loc. *patrius* is incompatible with *lectissimos.*

18, 12. **qui mare**: this much molested passage is perfectly sound. See note ad loc.

19, 6. † **ludere pretio**] *ludere pretio.* See note and *F.* ad loc.

19, 8. **pro proximis**] *proximis* — MSS.

20, 19. **invitamenta**] *incitamenta* — A′ (Γ). See note ad loc.

20, 22. **tanta**] *et tanta* — MSS. The reading of the MSS. is unobjectionable. See note ad loc.

22, 12. **desertum, nam . . . hiems, crebrae eruptiones**] *desertum, crebrae eruptiones, nam* — MSS. Halm's transposition is quite unjustifiable, both on internal (see note ad loc.) and external

grounds. For not only is the insertion of *crebrae eruptiones* between *intrepida hiems* and *et sibi quisque praesidio* paleographically unwarranted, but it also involves a flagrant violation of the Tacitean usage of *et* after an asyndeton, and at the same time rudely separates two statements which clearly belong together.

22, 21. **et erat ut**] *et ut erat* — Henrichsen. This emendation, independently suggested also by Purser, l.c. p. 192, is extremely easy and satisfactory, while *ut erat* of the MSS. or *et erat ut* is awkward and ambiguous, referring equally to what precedes and to what follows. But Tacitus would certainly not affirm the charge involved in *acerbior*. With Henrichsen's reading, he qualifies the statement in two ways. Agricola was not *acerbus*, but at best only *iniucundus*, and even that only *adversus malos*, for he was habitually *comis bonis*.

23, 25. **percucurrerat**] *percurrerat* — B(Δ), Woelfflin. Tacitus seems to have avoided the reduplicated forms in compounds.

24, 32. **nave prima transgressus**: crossing over with a fleet for the first time. The conjectures made to this passage are without exception unwarranted. See *C. R.* 328 and notes ad loc.

24, 10. **differunt: interiora parum, melius aditus . . . cogniti**] *differunt* ⟨*in melius*⟩. *Aditus . . . cogniti* — Wex. Halm's interpolation of *interiora parum*, apart from its boldness, attributes to Tacitus a most gratuitous statement. *In melius* is probably the marginal note or interlinear gloss of some patriotic Irish scribe which subsequently intruded into the text. The MS. tradition of the *Agricola* being distinct from the other works of Tacitus, and the contents of this particular chapter appealing, as it must have done, directly to Irishmen, lends color to the supposition that the archetypon came from one of the famous Irish scriptoria. Scribes have often relieved their feelings by marginal remarks of this nature.

25, 21. **timebantur**] *timebat* — Ritter, *timebant* — MSS. Agricola is the subject throughout (incohabat, amplexus, exploravit). There is, therefore, no reason for writing *timebantur*, particularly as *timebat* is an equally simple correction. Agricola feared that the march of a Roman army might be rendered dangerous by the presence of the natives through whose territory they had to pass.

26, 17. **et Romanis**: I should prefer to read *at* with Baehrens.

28, 9. **uno renavigante**] *uno retro remigante*. Cp. *C. R.* 329. The MSS. read *uno remigante*, which is admittedly corrupt.

29, 21. Probably Tacitus wrote *tulit, sed* (set) for *tulit et*, a case of haplography, the final 't' (of *tulit)* being, as often, mistaken for

an 's.' So perhaps also 37, 22, *humus, sed* for *humus et*, as suggested by Halm.

31, 26. in patientiam bellaturi] *in paenitentiam arma laturi* — Wex; *in paenitentiam laturi* — MSS. — The emendation of *Wex* is by far the simplest of the many suggested, and is highly satisfactory in sense. I can see no force in Woelfflin's objection that the Britons had already taken up arms, and could not, therefore, be said *laturi*. Nor can I understand why Tacitus (as F. ad loc. maintains) should have shrunk from using a perfectly intelligible phrase like *arma ferre in paenitentiam*. *Paenitentiam* might of course be regarded as the false solution of the compendium for *patientiam*, which, be it observed, is not found in the MSS.; but even if it were, the former would be the *difficilior lectio*, because a less commonplace, and therefore a more Tacitean, antithesis to *libertatem* than *patientiam*. We shall take up arms against the Romans, says Calgaeus, in the hope of securing our liberty, and not in the expectation of having ever to regret the attempt, as was the case with the Brigantes.

32, 9. alia: possibly this represents the compendium for *aliena*, a reading highly suitable to the context, but see note note ad loc.

33, 1. virtute vestra] *virtute et* — MSS. — Peter alone of recent editors has defended the traditional reading, but I cannot accept his reasons. *imperium Romanum* does not merely represent the substitution of an abstract for the concrete, but is clearly a personification used to avoid the mention of Domitian, for the successes referred to belong for the chief part in the reign of that emperor, Peter erroneously supposing that the abstract was employed so as to include Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. The Empire once personified, it was as natural as it was legitimate to predicate *virtus*, or any other quality of it. See also note ad loc. I have, therefore, had no hesitation in restoring the reading of the MSS.

33, 9. montesve] *montesque* — Urlichs. The suggestion of an alternative is quite out of place, the aim of the speaker being to give a cumulative effect in the enumeration of the hardships the Roman soldier had overcome. The collocation, *paludes montesque et flumina*, is, moreover, exceedingly common in Tacitus, *-ve -et*, not being found at all. Cp. note ch. 12, 3.

33, 11. acies] *veniunt* — Schoene; *animus* — MSS. *Dare aciem* occurs only in Val. Flacc. V. 617, and should, therefore, not have been forced upon T. *veniunt*, though not a certain emendation, gives an excellent sense and is methodically as justifiable as *acies*.

33, 14. **ut . . . ita**] *et . . .* ⟨*item*⟩. Cp. my review of Furneaux's edition, *Class. Review*, XIII. (1899), p. 213. The *item* of the MSS., changed by Rhenanus into *ita*, which, if the original, would hardly have been thus corrupted, seems to be nothing more than a dittography of the final letters of fro*ntem*. The confusion of *et*, *ut*, *at* is notoriously frequent, while the ellipsis of *sed* in an adversative asyndeton is characteristically Tacitean. Cp. *Introd.* p. xxxi.

33, 21. **mors turpi vita potior**] *mors, turpi vita potior*, — Schoene. I.e. *mors . . . et incolumitas . . .* eodem loco sita sunt.

34, 3. **novissimae res et extremo metu torpor . . . aciem in his vestigiis**] *n. r. et extremus metus corpora . . .* ⟨*aciem*⟩ *. . . in h. v.* — See *C. R.* 329, and *F.* ad loc. Prof. Merrill's suggestion, in *Class. Rev.* XII. (1898), p. 355, to read *etiam* for *aciem*, though paleographically very easy, involves a flat contradiction of the context, whether we take *etiam* in the sense of *even* or of *also*, as is evident from *hi . . . fugacissimi* and *quos . . . deprehensi sunt.*

35, 15. **bellanti**] *bellandi* — MSS. Cp. *Andresen* and *F.* ad loc.

36, 30. **cohortes**] *cohortes tres* — Rhenanus.

36, 10. **equitum turmae**: the explanation given in the note ad loc., I feel convinced, disposes of the many difficulties to which this passage has given rise, without altering the text, although it is possible that *equitum* merely represents a false solution of the compendium intended for *equorum*. There were no *equites* among the Caledonians; on the other hand, the phrase cannot be applied to the Romans without making the entire paragraph hopelessly unintelligible; but inasmuch as *turmae equitum* was a well-known technical term for a detachment of Roman cavalry, nothing was more natural than that the scribe of the archetypon understood *equitum* with *turmae*. But this word is frequently used of a crowd or horde of animals, and I so interpret it in this passage, whether we actually read *equorum* or regard *equitum* in this sense as one of Tacitus's many Vergilian reminiscences. F. Haverfield (*Class. Rev.* XIII. p. 305) in a very recent reëxamination of the *five* passages, generally cited for the use of *eques* = *equus*, has denied the validity of this equation. His argumentation does not appear convincing to me, nor do I see why *eques* may not have been employed in the analogously ambiguous sense that *horse* is in English, and *cavalleria* in Italian. Cp. also Milton, *P. L.* I. 307, *chivalry* = knights. In any case, the present passage, though hitherto overlooked, furnishes a very clear instance of this confusion, every other interpretation involving insuperable difficulties.

36, 14. **aequa . . . aegre**, etc.] † *aequa . . .* † *aegre.* This emendation of the corrupt text gives a good sense, but it is more than doubtful, if it represents what Tacitus wrote.

37. 19. **vacui spernebant**] ⟨*vacui*⟩ *spernebant. vacui* I believe to be a gloss on *pugnae expertes*, which taken by itself is ambiguous. In any case, the fact that these Britons were *vacui* cannot have been given as the reason why they despised the *small* number of the Romans.

37, 1. † **item**] *identidem* — Hutter.

37, 6. **perscrutari**] *persultare* — Rhenanus. See *F.* ad loc.

38, 19. **consilia ⟨aliqua⟩**] *consilia aliqua* — MSS. See note and *F.* ad loc.

38, 23. **deserti**] *secreti* — MSS. See note ad loc. and Purser l.c. p. 198.

38. 30. **peditem atque equites**] *pedites atque equites.* See *C. R.* 329.

38, 2 f. **proximo anno . . . reditura erat**] *proximo . . . redierat* — MSS. Cp. Andresen and *F.* ad loc.

39. 6. **excepit**: this reading may be defended as in note ad loc., but *accepit* would be preferable. The codex B (Δ) has only *coepit*, and the two verbs are frequently confused in MSS. Cp. my note to *Dial.* 1, 14 (p. 60 edit. maior).

41, 27. **vigorem et constantiam et expertum . . . animum**] *vigorem*, *constantiam et*, etc. — A (Γ). This reading, though hitherto universally rejected, accords with the consistent practice of Tacitus in the use of *et* after an asyndeton, the third member being amplified and adding a new and often, as here, the most important element in the enumeration. Cp. *Hist.* I. 15 (cited in note ch. 41,17) and *Introd.* p. xxviii.

41, 28. **eorum quibus exercitus committi solerent. quibus**] *ceterorum quibus* — Grotius; *eorum quibus* — MSS.

42, 13. **preces excusantis**] *preces se excusantis.* Cp. note ad loc.

43, 5. **adfirmare ut ausim**] *quod* (Acidalius) *firmare* (Henrichsen, Woelfflin). The *ad* is a corruption of q̃d, the lower part of 'q' having become obliterated. The use of the simple verb is quite Tacitean. Cp. e.g. *Ann.* I. 81, *de comitiis . . . vix quidquam firmare ausim*; VI. 28, *quae vetus memoria firmavit.*

43, 7 f. **libertorum primi et medicorum intimi**: as *intimi* is the standing epithet of *liberti* in Tacitus, one is strongly tempted to read with Ernesti, *medicorum primi et libertorum intimi* or simply

to interchange the attributives, but such a change cannot be justified on any methodical grounds.

43, 12. **doloris habitu vultuque prae se tulit**] *doloris animi vultu⟨que⟩ prae se tulit* — Baehrens, and see *C.R.* 329 f.

44, 21. **sexto**] *quarto* — Petavius. Cp. Andresen and *F.* ad loc.

44, 24. **impetus**] *metus* — A (Γ) in margin, *impetus* — A (Γ), *metus et impetus* — B (Δ). The readings in AB seem to me quite untenable; *metus*, however, is unobjectionable. See note ad loc. and cp. with the entire passage Plut. *Demet.* 2, τὸ γὰρ πρόσωπον (= *vultus*) χάριν (= *gratia*) καὶ βάρος (= *sublimior*) καὶ φόβον (= *metus*) καὶ ὥραν (= *decentior*) εἶχε.

44, 28 ff. **peregit. Quippe . . . poterat? opibus . . . contigerant. filia . . . superstitibus potest**, etc.] *peregit. Opibus . . . contigerant. Quippe . . . poterat, filia . . . superstitibus? potest*, etc. On this transposition, see *C. R.* 330–331, *ibid.* vol. XIII. (1899), p. 213.

44, 29. **contigerant**] *non contigerant* — MSS. Cp. *C. R.* 331 and note ad loc.

45, 17. **⟨iam⟩ tum**] *nondum*. See *C. R.* 332.

46, 12. **nosque domum**] *nosque et domum* — Urlichs. The insertion of *et* seems called for, not as though Tacitus, as Agricola's son-in-law, could not have spoken of himself as a member of his family (so *F.* ad loc.), but partly because *que — et*, if the sentence begins with a personal pronoun, is the rule in Tacitus (see note ch. 18, 10), partly because of *ab . . . lamentis*. See note ad loc.

46, 15. **te potius . . . colamus**] *potius . . . te colamus.* See *C. R.* 332.

NOTES TO
THE GERMANIA.

Page 32. Chapter 1. 1. **Gĕrmānia omnis**: *Germany in its entirety*, but exclusive of *Germania superior* and *inferior*, on the left bank of the Rhine (for these were Romanized provinces), and of the so-called *agri decumates*. See map. For a similarly loose use of *omnis*, cp. Caes. *B. G.* I. 1, *Gallia omnis*, where the Roman *Gallia Narbonensis* is ignored for the same reason. **Raetisque et Pānnŏniis**: —*que* combines the two *Danubian* nations, joined into a group by *et*, to the Gallic tribes living along the *Rhine*. *Noricum*, which intervenes between Raetia and Pannonia, is here omitted for the sake of stylistic symmetry. The ethnology of the *Raeti*, who occupied the modern Tyrol, eastern Switzerland, and part of Bavaria, is still involved in obscurity. Their language bore some resemblance to the Etruscan, and they probably belonged to a race which preceded the great Indo-European migration. **Pannoniis**: a people of Illyrian stock, which survives in the modern Albanians.

2. **Rhēno et Dānŭvio**: the names are probably Celtic, meaning the *running* and the *rapid*. *Ister*, the more usual designation for the lower Danube, never occurs in Tacitus. **Sarmătis**: virtually identical with the Scythians; but here more particularly the Iazyges Sarmatae are meant. Together with the Daci, they occupied the entire eastern boundaries of Germany. See map. **Dācis**: the same as the Getae, among whom the banished poet Ovid lived. They had often vanquished Roman armies, but were finally subdued by Trajan in 107 A.D., nine years after the date of this treatise. They were driven out of their ancestral abodes by the Iazyges, in the reign of Claudius (41–53 A.D.). **mutuo metu aut montibus**: the collocation of an abstract and a concrete expression, here emphasized by alliteration, is particularly common in Tacitus. Cp. ch. 7. 13; 43. 3, and *Introd.* to *Agr.* p. xxxiv. The phrase was imitated by Amm. Marcell. XVII. 12. 12, *Sarmatis locorum confiniis et feritate iunctis*-

simis. While the Carpathian Mountains effectively separated the Germanic Bastarnae from the Daci, the river Vistula (Weichsel) afforded a less safe barrier against invasion; hence *metu.*

3. **cetera**: i.e. the extreme northern and northwestern regions. **Oceanus**: here the North Sea. **ambit**: a poetic expression but frequent in post-Augustan prose. In Tacitus again, *Hist.* IV. 79.

4. **sinus**: peninsulas with winding shores. For this meaning, cp. ch. 37, 26, and Plin. *N. H.* IV. 1, 1 (of Greece). **insularum**: Scandinavia and the islands on the Danish and Frisian coasts, for the former was down to the early Middle Ages invariably regarded as an island. **inmensa**: although Tacitus, under the influence of Vergil, is fond of using *inmensus, enormis, ingens* and the like in the weakened sense of *magnus* (cp. ch. 34, 22; *Agr.* 10, 13), the word is here, as *ingenti* in ch. 35, 2, best taken in its regular meaning, because of the extremely vague knowledge which Tacitus and the ancients generally possessed as to the extent of these northern regions. Cp. Plin. *N. H.* IV. 13, 27, 96 f. *insularum inmensa spatia* = *insulae inmensi spatii*, a kind of hypallage. Cp. e.g. Hor. *Sat.* I. 2, 32, *sententia dia Catonis;* Juv. IV. 39.

5. **nuper**: a very elastic term in Latin; see notes to *Dial.* 9, 18, and below, ch. 2, 11. The *Monum. Ancyr.* 5, 26, 14 ff., and Plin. *N. H.* II. 67, 67, 167, seem, however, to leave no doubt that Tacitus here alludes more particularly to the expedition of Drusus in 12 B.C., when the Romans for the *first* time came within sight of the Danish coast. Cp. also note ch. 34, 27. **cognitis** = *in quibus cogniti sunt*, embodying a parenthetical remark of the author; for the ablative absolute is here neither strictly temporal nor causal. **gentibus ac regibus**: *tribes under kingly rule.* So similarly *Dial.* 8, 18, *imagines ac tituli* (*busts with inscriptions*).

6. **aperuit**: the metaphor is especially common in geographical descriptions. Cp. e.g. *Agr.* 22, 5; *Hist.* I. 17. **Raeticarum Alpium**: this applies to the so-called *Hinterrhein*, which rises in Mt. Adula, some 20 miles west of Mt. St. Gotthard, the real source of the Rhine (*Vorderrhein*). If the latter had been meant here, *inaccesso* would be out of place, as this mountain was a thoroughfare between the north and the south from time immemorial. Both sources were, however, well known to the ancients and, in consequence, Mt. Adula was often wrongly identified with the Gotthard in connection with the source of the famous river.

8. **versus**: not the preposition, but the participle used in an aorist

sense. **Oceano miscetur**: The passive as often with the meaning of the middle; so *versus*. The dative is poetic. Cp. *Ann.* II. 6, *Rhenus. . . . Oceano misceatur.* **molli et clementer**: *easily and gently.* So combined in Colum. *de re rust.* II. 2, 1.

9. Abnŏbae: the Black Forest. **pluris** = *compluris.* On this usage, see ch. 6, 10; 43, 21; and note to *Agr.* 25, 5.

10. donec with the present subjunctive of mere facts is a common post-Augustan usage, and frequent in Tacitus. **sex meatibus erumpat**: Strabo and the Roman poets (perhaps on the analogy of the Nile), generally assign *seven* mouths to the Danube; others only three (e.g. *Schol. Apoll. Rhod.* IV. 306), and that many exist to-day. Tacitus corrects the apparently current view by pointing out that the seventh mouth loses itself in the marshes. Observe the careful balancing of words and phrases throughout this paragraph, *inaccesso ac praecipiti — vertice — ortus — miscetur* being contrasted with *molli et clementer edito — iugo — effusus — erumpat.* — *Meatibus* is an ablative 'of the way by which,' as in *Ann.* I. 60, *finibus Frisiorum*; 63, *litore Oceani.*

Chapter 2. **12. Ipsos**: marks the transition from the land to its inhabitants. So exactly *Agr.* 13, 14, *ipsi Britanni.* Such stylistic devices are particularly frequent in this treatise. Cp. notes ch. 1. 4; 5, 13; 6, 4; 8, 15; 18, 18; 20, 24; 23, 12; 25, 32; 37, 26. **indigenas**: *aborigines, autochthonous.* The problem here suggested seems to have been much discussed by the ancients themselves, and Tacitus selected the hypothesis which appeared to him the most plausible (*crediderim*). He bases his belief upon *four* arguments: (1) in primitive times migration usually took place by sea; (2) Germany could have offered no inducements to an enemy or an immigrant; (3) the Germanic theogony seems uninfluenced by foreign beliefs; (4) ethnological considerations point to a *gens tantum sui similis.* As Tacitus elsewhere shows himself perfectly conversant with overland migrations (ch. 28, 7; 37, 28 f.; *Ann.* XI. 14), the inference in the present passage may be due to his conviction that these, when contrasted with the wanderings of the Phœnicians, of Hercules, Ulysses, and Aeneas, were relatively of too recent a date to account for prehistoric conditions. **minimeque**: *and in consequence*, etc. On this epexegetic *-que*, cp. 2, 9; 6, 27; 13, 9; 14, 28; 28, 13; 29, 11; and notes *Dial.* 22, 3; *Agr.* 4, 21.

13. adventibus et hospitiis: *immigration and intercourse.* The

former might have been hostile, the latter could only be friendly. The same words are combined in ch. 40, 9. **nec . . . et**: So ch. 7, 29, and very frequently elsewhere in Tacitus.

14. terra: sc. *veniebant*, to be supplied by an easy zeugma out of *advehebantur*.

15. quaerebant with infinitive is a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον in Tacitus, but common in poetry and post-Augustan prose. **utque sic dixerim**: on this phrase, see note to *Agr.* 3, 25. It is here used by way of apology for the bold personification involved in *adversus* (*hostile*) *Oceanus*. The meaning *antipodal*, usually given to *adversus* here, is incompatible with Tacitus' conception of the earth's form. See note *Agr.* 12, 1.

16. raris = *raro*. On this usage, cp. ch. 6, 5, and notes *Dial.* 4, 16; *Agr.* 5, 2. **orbe nostro**: *our part of the world.* So used of Italy in *Agr.* 12, 29.

17. praeter: *not to mention.* Cp. ch. 44, 12; *Agr.* 4, 10. **Asia aut Africa**: the flourishing *provinces* of that name.

18. informem terris: *unattractive in its landscape.* The adjective is here used figuratively and is derived from *forma*, *beauty*.

Page 33. **1. asperam caelo**: *inclement in its climate.* **tristem cultu adspectuque**: *saddening to cultivate and to behold.* Either ablatives of respect or supines. The former is preferable for reasons of symmetry with the preceding ablatives. The last clause in the *asyndeton trimembre* is, as usual in Tacitus, amplified, *cultu* referring, in chiastic order, to the second, *adspectu* to the first. Cp. ch. 13, 11; 18, 1; 30, 7; 45, 14; *Agr.* 30, 23; 36, 27; 44, 6. **nisi si patria sit**: as the tense, by the side of *peteret* (deliberative subj.), shows, the clause is intended to qualify only the last member of the asyndeton, *tristem*, etc. — *nisi si*, a weaker substitute for *si*, very common in T., generally takes the indicative; here the subjunctive seems to be used to express the author's doubt as to a German's love of country being sufficiently strong to cause him to overlook the dismal climatic conditions. With the sentiment, cp. Homer, *Odyss.* IX. 27 f., and Sen. *Epist.* 66, 26, *nemo enim patriam quia magna est amat, sed quia sua.*

3. Celebrant: sc. *Germani.* **quod**: sc. *carmen*, the relative agreeing with only a part of the antecedent. So e.g. ch. 8, 17; 18, 3; 21, 11; 24, 20; 36, 18; *Dial.* 38, 11; *Agr.* 13, 22. None of these primitive German epics, though said to have been collected by Charles the Great, have survived; but we hear of songs in which the achievements

of Arminius were celebrated (Tac. *Ann.* II. 88), and later historians repeatedly mention *carmina antiqua* as among the sources of their information. **apud illos**: Tacitus might have safely generalized this remark, for epic lays, dealing with heroic deeds, invariably constitute the first, and for a long time the only, traditions of a nation's early life.

4. **memoriae et annalium**: *historical traditions.* The specific and concrete term is, for the sake of closer definition, joined to the abstract and generic, in accordance with a usage especially characteristic of Tacitus. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxviii, and also note to *Dial.* 1, 15; *Introd.* to *Agr.* p. xxxiv. **Tuistonem**: probably conceived as born of heaven and earth and thus partaking of the nature of both, whence also his name, which in its root is etymologically identical with our *two.* That this duality was represented, as in many mythologies, under the form of a bisexual being is possible, but not plausible in the case of the Germanic theogonies.

5. **terra editum**: so Kronos was the offspring of earth (Γῆ). If the very deities are autochthonous, the Roman antiquarians seem to have argued, then their worshippers must have been so too. **Mannum**: etymologically the same as the Sk. *man*, 'think,' found in Engl. *man*, Germ. *mensch*, Gk. Μίνως, μιμνήσκω, Lat. *manes*, *memini.* The word, therefore, represents the first thinking human being. **originem gentis**: *ancestor of the race.* In this concrete sense, *origo* is Vergilian usage, e.g. *Aen.* XII. 166. In Tacitus again, *Hist.* IV. 55, and *Ann.* IV. 9, *origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas . . . et conditor urbis Romulus.* **conditoresque**: cp. Verg. *Aen.* I. 33, *condere gentem;* Tac. *Hist.* V. 4, *conditores gentis.*

6. **tris filios**: A trinity in the *third* generation is a characteristic feature of many mythologies. Cp. Uranós — Kronos — Zeus, Poseidon, Pluto; Deucalion — Hellen — Doros, Xuthos, Aiolos; Buri — Borr — Wodin, Vili, Ve; Thielvar — Hafdi — Guti, Greipr, Gunfraun, the Teutonic illustrations forming alliterative groups as in the present passage. **adsignant** sc. *Germani*, i.e. through the medium of the authority (probably Posidonius), upon whom Tacitus' information is based. See *Introd.* p. lvii. To supply some word like *antiquarii* directly, as is generally done, would involve too harsh a change of subject after *celebrant.* The same ellipsis is implied in *quidam* below, for *ut — vetustatis* is inapplicable to the relatively recent date of the knowledge concerning these matters possessed by the ancients. **e quorum nominibus**: probably originally Ingvio, Istvio, Irmino (the endings

are conjectural), and corresponding to the later and more familiar names of Freyr, Tiu, and Wodan. The same ethnological division, but with the further addition of the Bastarnae and Vandilii, is given by Plin. *N. H.* IV. 14, 28, 99. These designations, Latinized for Roman readers, are undoubtedly appellatives, but of the many etymologies suggested none are convincing. The statement itself is demonstrably erroneous, for the names of a people give rise to the invention of eponymous founders, not the reverse, as is asserted in our passage. These groups, being in reality of a theological origin, are, therefore, significantly ignored in the geographical division of tribes in the second part (ch. 28 ff.) of this treatise. **proximi Oceano Ingaevōnes**: these correspond approximately to the *Cimbri, Teutoni ac Chaucorum gentes* of Pliny, l.c. The Anglo-Saxons and Frisians were their direct descendants. The eponym itself happens to occur in Béowulf, vs. 779. *Ing was first with the East Dane.*

7. medii Herminōnes: i.e. the Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherusci, and Semnones, corresponding roughly to the Alemanni, Hessians, and Thuringians of later times. **ceteri Istaevōnes**: they comprised the races between the Rhine and Weser, and are the progenitors of the Franks and Dutch. For all these tribes, see map.

8. vocentur: subjunctive of implied indirect discourse after *adsignant*. **ut in licentia vetustatis**: *in accordance with the latitude of opinion which a remote past involves.* On this common elliptical use of *ut*, cp. ch. 22, 32 ; 30, 27 ; 45, 14, and note *Agr.* 11, 1. **pluris**: *still more.* **deo**: sc. *Tuistone.*

9. plurisque: *and in consequence*, etc. Cp. note above (l. 12). **Marsos**: related to the Sugambri whose religious cult they shared. See map. After the campaigns of Germanicus (Tac. *Ann.* I. 50 f., 56), they disappear from history, probably assimilating with interior tribes. Cp. Strabo, VII. 1, 3. **Gambrĭvios**: mentioned also in Strabo l.c., who speaks of them in connection with the Chatti and the Cherusci. They, too, were closely related to the Sugambri, as the name itself seems to imply.

10. Sŭēbos: Cp. notes ch. 38. Plin. l. c. classes them under the *Herminones.* **Vandĭlios**: for their location, see map. According to Pliny l.c., they comprised the Burgundians, Charini, Gutones. These discrepancies prove that Tacitus was here following another source. Cp. *Introd.* p. liii. Under the name of Vandals they play an important rôle in the great migration of the peoples in the 5th century, finally crossing over to Africa. **eaque vera**, etc. : sc. *sunt.*

a confirmatory remark of Tacitus. If *esse* were to be supplied, *vera*, by the side of *adfirmant*, would be tautological.

11. Ceterum : *but be this as it may, in any case.* On this frequent resumptive force of the particle, see ch. 9, 1; 25, 32; 43, 28; and note to *Dial.* 26, 6. The following indirect discourse shows that Tacitus here returns to his authorities, who, contrary to the traditional view, cannot be the *quidam*; for, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, there is no reason to believe that there was any difference of opinion concerning the statement in this closing paragraph. Note also that a *quidam*, according to the mode of citation customary among the ancients, need not refer to more than one author. **recens et nuper auditum** is opposed to *antiqua nomina.* On the elastic signification of *nuper*, see note *Dial.* 9, 18. Here it refers back to Caesar, a period of about 150 years, or possibly to the time of the Slave War (73–71 B.C.).

12. qui primi, etc. : cp. Caes. *B. G.* II. 4, 1, *plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus traductos . . . ibi consedisse, Gallosque . . . expulisse;* 10, *Condrusos, Eburones, Caeroesos, Paemanos qui uno nomine Germani adpellantur.*

14. ita nationis, etc. : *thus the name of a tribe, not of a race, gradually gained the upper hand, in that all were called Germani by the victor for the purpose of inspiring fear; subsequently they called themselves by the invented name;* i.e. Teutonic tribes crossed the Rhine and subdued the Celtic peoples bordering on it. In order to inspire the conquered with fear they represented all the Transrhenish tribes to be their brethren, who would be ready to aid them, if necessary. Subsequently the victors assumed the very name which they had devised for a specific purpose. The phenomenon itself has numerous analogies. Thus Graeci and Hellenes were originally small tribes dwelling in Epirus and Thessaly. Cp. also the French *Allemand* for German, derived from the Allemanni, and *Deutsch* itself from the Teutones. *Natio* is usually the narrower term, *gens* the wider; but this distinction is nowhere consistently observed, the context determining its specific meaning. **Ita** : for *itaque*, which in Tacitus occurs only in three passages of the Dialogus.

15. omnes : i.e. all the tribes still remaining behind on the right bank of the Rhine, such as the Eburones, etc., mentioned by Caesar l.c. They subsequently came to be merged in the Tungri. The invaders may well have been the *Belgae.* **ob metum** : sc. *iniciendum. Ob.* denoting purpose, is frequent in Tacitus. Cp. Tac. *Hist.*

I. 63, *non ob praedam aut spoliandi cupidine.* **mox** : *subsequently*, the usual meaning in Tacitus. So again, ch. 10, 10.

16. Germani is the Latin rendition of some Teutonic word, now lost, and means *brethren*, and so the ancients themselves always understood it. Cp. Strabo, IV. 4, 2 (γνήσιοι) ; Plut. *Marius* 26 (ἀδελφοί) ; Vell. Pat. II. 67, *de Germanis* (sc. *Lepido et Planco fratribus*), *non de Gallis duo triumphant consules.* The Teutonic or Celtic etymologies generally given for this word are largely mere guesswork, and incompatible with the meaning of the context. The hypothesis itself is unquestionably erroneous, for the German peoples did not have a generic name till the 11th century, when *Deutsch* (Teutsch) had become established as such. The present passage and the one cited from Caes. *B.G.* II. 4, 10, are in all likelihood based upon Posidonius. See *Introd.* p. lix.

Chapter 3. **17. et** = *etiam*, *also*, i.e. Hercules among others. So below, l. 26. **Herculem** : i.e. the *interpretatio Romana* (or *Graeca*) identified him with *Donar* (Thor), who has many characteristics and attributes in common with Hercules. Thus, both fight with giants and monsters and descend to the lower world, both are great wanderers and benefactors of man, being appealed to as ἀλεξίκακοι, both finally are represented as of a rustic character and uncouth demeanor. Others regarded Jupiter as a better parallel, hence *dies Iovis*, Fr. *jeudi;* Germ. *Donnerstag*, Engl. *Thursday.* Cp. *Introd.* p. lx. **memorant** sc. *quidam auctores*, as l. 26. *Germani* is impossible here, not so much because this would require *se* in place of *eos*, for this confusion occurs elsewhere in Tacitus, but simply because the identification in question could not have emanated from the Germans themselves. Cp. also note ch. 9, 25. **primumque** : *and as a matter of fact*, etc. On this asseverative force of *-que*, see e.g. 2, 10 ; 5, 30 ; 6, 27. *Primum* = *principem.* Cp. Lucret. I. 86, *prima virorum.*

18. virorum fortium : *heroes.* The designation is only apparently inconsistent with ch. 9, 27, for Hercules is a demigod and as such partakes of both human and divine characteristics. Here the former are emphasized, as also in *Ann.* II. 12. **canunt** sc. *Germani.* The somewhat abrupt change of subject is unobjectionable, whenever no ambiguity is involved, as here and ch. 5, 17 ; 6, 15 ; 14, 27 ; 20, 5. Such battle songs are often referred to.

19. Sunt illis haec quoque carmina : i.e. besides the epic lays, celebrating the κλέα ἀνδρῶν, there are also still in use (*haec*) among

them certain chants, etc. For a similar meaning of *haec*, which has been variously interpreted, see *Dial.* 12, 8, *lucrosae huius . . . eloquentiae usus recens* (*the money-getting eloquence of to-day is a modern practice*). **relatu**: *recital.* A very rare word, occurring first in Ovid, *Fast.* III. 541. In Tacitus again, *Hist.* I. 30, *relatu virtutum.*

20. barditum: *shield song*, connected with Old Norse *bardhi*, *a shield*, not with *bard*, which is purely Celtic, nor with *beard*, which does not suit the present context. The *barritum*, with which *barditus* has often been identified, though used of a battle shout and of the cry of elephants, was apparently quite different, to judge by its repeated description in Ammianus Marcellinus and other writers.

21. ipso cantu: i.e. without reference to the contents of the chant.

22. vocis ille . . . virtutis concentus: *A harmony of valor rather than of voice.* It represented not so much a musical harmony, as one militant spirit pervading the ranks. On the alliterative antithesis, a favorite device of Tacitus, cp. *Introd. Agr.* p. xxviii. In this treatise again, ch. 14, 3 f.

23. Adfectatur: on the emphatic position of the verb, see *Introd.* p. lxvi. It agrees in the singular with the nearer noun, and so generally, when placed at the beginning, as the predicate of two subjects.

24. fractum: *subdued.* So Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 20, *fractos sonos.*

25. gravior: *deeper.* **Ceterum**: here merely a transitional particle, i.e. not only are we told that Hercules came, but even Ulysses, etc.

26. quidam opinantur: Probably *Posidonius* is the earliest authority for this information. Cp. also Solinus, XXII. 1, who is chiefly indebted to Pliny: *in quo recessu Ulixen Caledoniae adpulsum manifestat ara Graecis litteris inscripta*, and *Introd.* p. lvii. According to Krates of Mallos, the famous head of the school of Pergamum (2d cent. B.C.), Odysseus reached India by crossing the Atlantic. Thereafter we hear of various cities founded by him, as Odyssea in Iberia, Olisippo in Spain (Lusitania), and traces of his presence on the Rhine were also found. Cp. Claudian, *in Rufin.* I. 123. Doubtless all these traditions owe their origin to fancied resemblances to the name Ulixes, as Olisippo above, and possibly Ulohoxis in Germany. *Opinantur* implies a less degree of credibility than *memorant.* Cp. *Dial.* 2. 11. **illo**: on the medial position, cp. *Introd.* p. lxvi. **fabuloso**: *renowned in story.* So e.g. Hor. *Od.* I. 22, 8, *fabulosus Hydaspes*, but in its usual sense, ch. 46, 24.

27. hunc: Tacitus carries the reader to the spot, as it were. *Illum*

would have been too emphatic here. Cp. Theocr. XVI. 4, βροτοὶ οἵδε.

28. Asciburgium: mentioned also in Tac. *Hist.* IV. 33 as a military station on the lower Rhine, the modern Asberg. See map. **hodieque** = *hodie quoque, still to this day.* Cp. *Dial.* 35, 25. *Situm* is the participle.

29. nominatumque: the name was probably taken to be Greek. (Ἀσκιπύργιον). **quin etiam**: always postpositive in Tacitus: So ch. 8, 20; 13, 8; 34, 23; 45, 15.

30. Ulixi = *ab Ulixe.* This so-called subjective dative, occurs more than 30 times in Tacitus. In this treatise again, ch. 16, 18; 34, 22; 45, 29; and cp. Suet. *Aug.* 1, *ara Octavio consecrata*, where the context also precludes a dative of reference. **Laërtae**: we have no means of knowing how this error originated. The alleged presence of the name was, however, supposed to dispel any possible doubt as to the trustworthiness of the identification with the Homeric hero. It has been not improbably conjectured that some form like the Etruscan *Lars*, *Lartis*, Scottish *lard*, Engl. *lord*, may have been mistaken for *Laertae*.

31. repertam: sc. *esse adfirmant*, to be supplied out of *opinantur.* **monumentaque et tumulos**: the specific is added to the more generic term, on which see *Introd.* p. lxviii.

32. Graecis litteris, etc.: Caes. *B.G.* I. 29, 1; VI. 14, 3, speaks of their use among the Gauls. They were more probably written in the but slightly different Etruscan alphabet, as appears from coins and from inscriptions found *in confinio Raetiae.*

Page 34. **1. neque confirmare**, etc.: although qualifying statements of this nature are characteristic of Tacitus (see note *Dial.* 12, 19), this particular passage seems to be a reminiscence of Liv. *Praef.* 6, *ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est*; V. 21. 9, *neque adfirmare neque refellere operae pretium est.*

2. ingenio: *disposition.*

3. demat vel addat fidem: *withhold or emphasize his belief.* The phrase is poetic. In Tacitus, *Hist.* II. 50; III. 39; *Ann.* IV. 9.

Chapter 4. **4. Ipse**: opposed to *quidam* above, and returning to ch. 2, 1, *crediderim.*

5. nullis aliis aliarum . . . conubiis: for this common pleonasm, here designed to emphasize the absolute racial purity of the Germans,

cp. e.g. *Dial.* 10, 15. **infectos**: best taken in a good sense, not *tainted* but *changed.* Cp. the meaning of *conrumpere* in ch. 23, 13.

6. propriam et sinceram: *distinct and pure.* Similar synonymic groups are frequent. Cp. e.g. *Dial.* 28, 5; *Hist.* IV. 64, *sincerus* and *integer;* Suet. *Aug.* 40, *sincerus et inconruptus.* The statement is doubtless exaggerated and due to the general tendency of the Greeks and Romans to idealize the peoples of the north. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxiii. **et tantum sui similem**: *like only to itself; sui generis.* Tacitus is fond of rounding off a polysyndeton or asyndeton by an amplified clause, *et tantum, ceteri, nullus* being particularly often employed for that purpose. Cp. *Introd. Dial.* p. xvii.

7. extitisse: *grew to be.* **habitus . . . corporum**: *physical characteristics.* So again, e.g. *Agr.* 11, 2.

8. quamquam . . . numero: *in spite of their huge multitude.* The Romans habitually overestimated the population of Germany. With the ellipsis of the verb, cp. ch. 14, 31; 18, 18. It is particularly frequent in Tacitus with *quamquam* and *quamvis.*

9. truces et caerulei oculi: these and the following features of the Germans are often alluded to in ancient writers. **rutilae**: *blond.* Other epithets applied to their hair are *flavus, rufus, auricomus,* ξανθός, πυρρός, χρυσοειδής. **magna corpora**: cp. ch. 20, 24; *Agr.* 11, 3; *Hist.* V. 18; Caes. *B. G.* I. 39, 1; IV. 1, 10. The Roman soldiers seldom exceeded 5 feet 7 inches in height; hence the constant marvel at the huge frames of their German foes. The statement itself has been amply confirmed by the measurements of skeletons, and even at the present day the inhabitants of northwest Germany are among the tallest men known, not excepting the Patagonians.

10. ad impetum: *for sudden attack.* They were impetuous, but showed no endurance. The same observation is frequently made, e.g. Tac. *Ann.* II. 14; *corpus ut . . . ad brevem impetum validum, sic nulla vulnerum patientia;* Sen. *de ira,* I. 11, 31. **laboris atque operum**: The collocation is very common. In Tacitus again, *Hist.* II. 10; V. 12; *Ann.* I. 20; XI. 18. On the adversative asyndeton, cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii. **non eadem patientia**: sc. *quam expectamus de magnis corporibus,* i.e. their endurance does not correspond to their powerful frames. The ellipsis is analogous to that after *aeque* (*Dial.* 35, 4) and *perinde* (ch. 5, 23; *Agr.* 10, 20).

11. tolerare . . . adsueverunt: with the former, supply *adsueverunt;* with the latter, *tolerare.* Such reciprocal ellipses are extremely rare and less bold than the present instance. Cp. Catull. 64,

336, *qualis adest* (sc. *concordia*) *Thetidi*, *qualis concordia* (sc. *adest*) *Peleo*; and perhaps Tac. *Hist.* I. 3, *supremae clarorum necessitates* (sc. *fortiter toleratae*) *ipsa* (sc. *necessitas*) *fortiter tolerata*. The fact itself is frequently attested. Cp. *Hist.* II. 93; Plut. *Mar.* 26, and esp. Polyaen. VIII. 10, 3, Μάριος Κιμβρίους ἠπίστατο κρύος μὲν καὶ χίονα φέρειν δυναμένους, καῦμα δὲ καὶ ἥλιον οὐδαμῶς. Wherever, as in Appian, *De reb. Gall.* 3, the opposite is asserted, we have an instance of the idealization of northern peoples referred to above.

12. frigora atque inediam: here not balanced with *sitim aestumque*, to avoid the accumulation of *-que*, but contrasted by chiasmus. On the ellipsis of *sed*, see *Introd.* p. lxvii. **caelo soloque**: *by reason of their climate*. The ablatives are causal. The collocation is very common, e.g. ch. 29, 14; *Agr.* 24; *Hist.* V. 7. Observe the skilful transition, for the mention of *solo* naturally suggests the land and its products, *terra* being placed at the beginning of the next chapter to give the clue, as it were, to its contents.

Chapter 5. **13. aliquanto**: the ablative, because of the comparative degree implied in *differt*. The description is confirmed by *Posidonius*, apud Plut. *Mar.* 11, and many subsequent writers, e.g. Mela III. 3, 3, *terra ipsa . . . multis montibus aspera et magna ex parte silvis ac paludibus invia* and, as late as the 11th century, Adam of Bremen says, *omnis tractus Germaniae profundis horret saltibus*. The most famous of these primeval *forests* are the Hercynian, Bacenis (Harz), Abnoba (Black Forest), Teutoburg (W. Germany), and Caesia (Westphalia); of *swamps*, Mela mentions Suesia, Metia, and Melsyagum as the largest.

14. horrida . . . foeda: the former refers to the impression created, the latter to the appearance.

15. ventosior: we expect some word like *aridior* to contrast with *umidior*, but the cause is put for the effect, the southern highlands of Germania being rendered drier by the winds sweeping over them. **adspicit**: with the metaphor, cp. *Agr.* 24, 3.

16. satis ferax: *productive of cereals*, especially oats, barley, and flax. The ablative with *ferax* is Vergilian, e.g. *Georg.* II. 322, *ferax oleo*. Elsewhere Tacitus has the genitive, e.g. *Ann.* IV. 72. **frugiferarum arborum patiens**: cp. the similar passage concerning Britain in *Agr.* 12, 3 f. Tacitus is, of course, speaking from the point of view of one accustomed to the luxuriant vegetation of southern countries. The statement is confirmed by the fact that, with the

exception of the apple, the German names for fruits, such as plums, cherries, and pears, are borrowed from the Latin, none of these being successfully cultivated in Germany until centuries later. **pecorum**: probably the domestic animals, exclusive of cats and dogs.

17. plerumque: *frequently.* This weakened sense of the word is much the more common in Tacitus. **improcera**: sc. *pecora sunt*, a remarkable ellipsis, but legitimate, in that *terra* could not be understood with this word. Cp. also note ch. 3, 18. **armentis**: here more particularly *cattle*, as shown by *gloria frontis.* Caes. *B. G.* IV. 2, 2, speaking generally of the native beasts of burden (*iumenta*), styles them *prava* and *informia*, but says they possessed great endurance, being accustomed to hard labor daily.

18. suus honor: *their peculiar beauty*, such as Tacitus was accustomed to see in Italian kine. Cp. also Verg. *Georg.* III. 51. **gloria frontis**: a poetic expression forming the close of a hexameter, here added by way of closer definition. See *Introd.* p. lxxi. Fine horns are usually lacking to German cattle to this day. **gaudent**: sc. *Germani.*

19. solae: for land was held in common (ch. 26), and silver and gold were not found in any appreciable quantities. The statement is confirmed by the old Teutonic words (*faihu*, *feoh*), signifying both cattle and wealth. In Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Norse, the latter had become the only meaning, and *feoh* significantly heads the Runic alphabet. Cp. the analogous development of Latin *pecus*, *peculium*, *pecunia*, Germ. *Vieh*, and Engl. *fee*, showing that originally cattle were the only medium of exchange or barter. **gratissimae**: *highly gratifying*, not *the most gratifying*, which would be incompatible with *solae*. With the statement, cp. also Caes. *B. G.* VI. 35, 6, *magno pecoris numero, cuius sunt cupidissimi barbari, potiuntur.* **Argentum et aurum**: *for as regards*, etc., explanatory of *solae*, the particles (here *nam* or *enim*) being omitted, as often when the important word is emphasized by its position at the beginning. See note *Agr.* ch. 2, 5. With this sentiment, a commonplace both in classical and modern literature, cp. e.g. Ovid, *Met.* I. 140, *effodiuntur opes, inritamenta malorum;* Hor. *Carm.* III. 3, 49, *aurum inrepertum et sic melius situm cum terra celat.*

20. Nec tamen, etc: only apparently contradicts *solae . . . opes*, the implication being that even if these metals did occur, they were too rare to constitute *opes*. As a matter of fact, when Tacitus wrote the *Annals*, he had heard of the existence of unproductive mines in

Germany. Cp. *Ann.* XI. 20, *nec multo post* (4 A.D.) *Curtius Rufus . . . in agro Mattiaco* (the modern Wiesbaden) *recluserat specus quaerendis venis argenti, unde tenuis fructus nec in longum fuit.* The famous Rhine gold of the Nibelungen saga is not mentioned till the 5th century.

22. **gignere** = *ferre.* Cp. *Agr.* 12, 7.

23. **haud perinde**: sc. *atque expectemus*, οὐχ οὕτως, *not to the degree we should expect.* With the ellipsis, cp. ch. 34, 18; *Hist.* I. 89; IV. 62; *Ann.* II. 88; IV. 61; XII. 40; and note ch. 4, 10. With the phrase, cp. *Justin.* II. 2, 7, *aurum et argentum non perinde ac reliqui mortales adpetunt* (sc. *Scythae*); Val. Flacc. *Argon.* VI. 131, *ignotis insons, Arimaspe, metallis.* The statement is very questionable. Cp. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 76, *pecuniamque ac donis quîs solis conrumpuntur* (sc. *Germani*). That gold and silver were known to the Germans from time immemorial is shown by the words themselves, which are not derived from Greek, Latin, or Celtic, but are related to the Indo-European. **Est videre** = ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, is a Graecism, first found in Cato, frequently in the Augustan poets, especially Horace and Vergil, and is quite common in subsequent prose. In Tacitus again, *Ann.* XVI. 34, *coniectare erat.* — The information may have been taken from Pliny's *Bella Germaniae.* See *Introd.* p. lv.

24. **principibus**: *rulers*, here used in the quasi-technical sense which the word has throughout this treatise. **data**: sc. *a Romanis* or foreign princes. Cp. ch. 15, 14 f. **non in alia**: a kind of *litotes* for *eadem.* Cp. *Ann.* III. 16, *neque alia in matrem tuam pietate.* Translate: *held in equally low estimation.*

25. **quae . . . finguntur** = *fictilia.* Tacitus is fond of paraphrasing trite or commonplace expressions. Cp. ch. 23, 12; *Hist.* IV. 5 (the Stoics); *Introd. Agr.* p. xxxv. **quamquam**: with the indicative is comparatively rare in Tacitus. Cp. note *Dial.* 8, 28.

26. **proximi**: sc. *nobis*, i.e. on the left banks of the Rhine and Danube. **usum conmerciorum**: *commercial intercourse.* **in pretio habent**: *value*, used for the hackneyed *magni habere* and formed on the analogy of *in honore, in gratia habere.* So Sen. *Epist.* 123, 16. Tacitus is noticeably partial to such prepositional phrases.

27. **formas**: *coins.* Cp. e.g. Quint. I. 6, 3. Elsewhere *nota* is so used. **adgnoscunt**: *know well.*

28. **interiores**: opposed to *proximi*, the adversative particle being, as often in antitheses, omitted. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii. **simplicius et antiquius**: *in the simpler manner of antiquity.* The chief com-

modities interchanged by the Germans were furs, auburn hair, goose feathers, wild animals for the Roman arena, honey and, in the north, amber (ch. 45, 17 f.).

29. probant: *like.*

30. diu = *iam diu.* So ch. 36, 17, *diu notam* is added to *veterem* for the sake of nearer definition. On this Tacitean usage, see *Introd.* p. lxviii; *Introd. Agr.* p. xxx. **serratos bigatosque**: notched or milled-edged denarii were coined in Rome from 91–53 B.C., and with a two-horse chariot, containing a figure of Victoria or of Diana, from 126–53 B.C. The Germans preferred these, partly because they were more difficult to counterfeit, partly because the denarii, e.g. of Nero's reign, contained less silver than the older Republican coins. Cp. Plin. *N. H.* XXXIII. 3, 13, 46. Tacitus' statement is amply confirmed by numismatic finds.

Page 35. **1. magis quam aurum**: the reference, as the words immediately following prove, pertains to the small traders only, for gold coins have been found in great number, the Germans, at a later period, having, in fact, a special name for them, viz. *cheisuring* (A. S. *casering*). **adfectione animi**: *bias, predilection.* On the *inconcinnity* of a causal ablative followed by a *quia* clause, see *Agr.* 9, 25, *nullis . . . sermonibus, sed quia; Ann.* I. 85; II. 37; XI. 11; and *Introd.* p. lxx.

2. numerus: *large number.* So ch. 5, 18. **promiscua ac vilia**: *general and cheap wares.*

Chapter 6. **4. ferrum**: observe the skilful transition, the mention of precious metals leading to that of iron, and this, in turn, to weapons and military customs. **superest**, *is abundant.* On the various meanings of the word, see note *Agr.* 44, 25. **ex genere**: *from the general character.* Down to the 9th century the German weapons were chiefly bronze.

5. rari = *raro.* Cp. note ch. 2, 16. **lanceis**: the statement is in a measure confirmed by the fact that the modern German word, *Lanze*, Engl. *lance*, is borrowed directly from the Latin. It was a stout, iron-pointed shaft.

6. hastas: on the adversative asyndeton, cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii. **frameas**: a Teutonic word of doubtful etymology. It occurs only in the Germania, in Juv. XIII. 79, and Gell. *N. A.* X. 6, 25. Elsewhere Tacitus uses *hasta* of the same weapon, in accordance with his later

puristic tendency to avoid foreign words. The *framea* seems to be pictured on the Antonine column.

9. quidem: merely continues; with *sed* omitted, as here, ch. 10, 16; *Ann.* II. 8. **scuto**: the shield, though it varied greatly in shape among different tribes and at different times, was usually four-cornered. Originally of wood, over which a hide was drawn, it was subsequently made of wickerwork. Cp. the description in *Ann.* II. 14. **contentus est**: this was true down to a much later time. The well-known battle-axe of the Germans is omitted, because Tacitus probably did not regard it as a regular weapon.

10. missilia: Cp. *Hist.* V. 17, *saxis glandibusque et ceteris missilibus proelium incipitur* (sc. *a Germanis*). **spargunt**: generally used of the gifts thrown by the emperor among the people. Cp. Suet. *Calig.* 18, *omnium rerum missilia spargere.* The expression occurs as early as Ennius (*spargunt hastas*) and thereafter often in the Augustan poets. **pluraque** = *compluria.* Cp. note ch. 1, 9. **in inmensum**: *to a great distance.* So *Hist.* V. 11; cp. also note ch. 1, 4.

11. vibrant: *hurl*, a poetic expression. Cp. Ovid, *Met.* VIII. 374. **nudi**: like γυμνός, very often merely signifies *scantily clad.* Cp. ch. 19, 11. The column of Trajan represents German mercenaries with broad trousers and with shield, but without helmet, while the rest of the body is bare or clothed with a *sagum.* **aut**: *or rather.* Cp. ch. 7, 30. 8. 13; 16, 27; *Hist.* II. 70; *Ann.* VI. 2; XII. 12; XIII. 43. **cultus**: as *scuta* shows, the word here refers to the embellishment on arms, horses, and the like. Cp. *Hist.* I. 88; Amm. Marc. XVI. 12.

12. lectissimis coloribus: cp. ch. 43, 2; *Ann.* II. 14. Thus the Cimbri had white shields (Plut. *Mar.* 25), the Frisians brown, and other colors are frequently mentioned in the Germanic epics; e.g. yellow in Béowulf 438. 2611; Elene, 118; in Norse poems, red, or red and white. They seem to have been used as a tribal or clan distinction, and from them arose the heraldic signs of later times. **Paucis loricae**: *Ann.* II. 14, *non loricam Germano, non galeam* is, therefore, an intentional exaggeration of the speaker. The pan-Germanic name for breastplate, namely *brunjô* (with its cognates), shows that it was not borrowed from the Romans.

13. cassis aut galea: they are not always rigidly distinguished, but usually the former denotes a helmet of metal, the latter of leather. Dio Cass. XXXVIII. 50, and others assert, without qualification, that the Germans fought bareheaded, and so they are depicted on the

Trajan and Antonine columns. Helmets have but rarely been found in German graves. **forma**: *beauty*. The fact here stated is frequently attested, e.g. by Caes. *B. G.* IV. 2, 2. But, by the 5th century, if not earlier, this was no longer true, the Germans paying considerable attention to the breeding of horses. The name of the city of *Stuttgart* still bears testimony to this occupation.

14. Sed: one might overlook these drawbacks if they were only properly trained like Roman horses, *but* they are found wanting even in this. **nec** = *ne . . . quidem*, e.g. *Dial.* 21, 22. **variare gyros**: a Tacitean coinage for the regular *varios gyros flectere*, i.e. they describe a movement resembling the figure 8. Cp. Verg. *Georg.* III. 190; *Aen.* V. 85. 584; Ovid, *Met.* VI. 226. This criticism was in all probability not applicable to the Tencteri (ch. 32, 30 f.) or the Batavi (Cass. Dio LV. 24; Plut. *Otho* 12), who were renowned for their horsemanship.

15. in rectum: *straight ahead*. **dextros**: here noted, because both Greeks and Romans were accustomed to turn to the left, as in the arena. The observation of Tacitus, or rather of his authority, is in a measure confirmed by the circumstance that we frequently find but *one* stirrup in Germanic graves. Cp. in general the interesting discussion in Xenoph. Περὶ ἱππ. 7, 11 ff. **agunt**: sc. *equites*. On the change of subject, cp. note ch. 3, 18.

16. coniuncto orbe, etc.: the riders formed a radius of a circle, and, as they wheeled about the centre, they kept a perfectly straight line, no one lagging behind his neighbor. **In universum aestimanti**: on this dative of the person judging, see note, *Agr.* 11, 9, where the identical phrase occurs.

17. plus penes peditem roboris: this is noted in particular of the *Chatti* (ch. 30, 4) and the *Britons* (*Agr.* 12, 20). **eoque** = *ideoque, and therefore*. So frequently in Tacitus and elsewhere. **mixti**: sc. *cum equitibus*. **proeliantur**: sc. *pedites*, to be supplied from the collective singular preceding.

18. velocitate: *agility*. Cp. [Caes.] *B. G.* VIII. 36, 2, *pedites, summae velocitatis homines*. On this method of fighting, see Caes. *B. G.* I. 48, 5 ff.; Amm. Marc. XVI. 12, 21 f. (the battle of Strassburg, 357 A.D.). Thereafter we hear no more of it, not even in poetry. Its abandonment was probably due to the great increase in cavalry among the Germans, which rendered them independent of support from the infantry. The same custom is, however, also attributed to the Boeotians, the Bastarnae, and the Gauls.

19. delectos: elsewhere in the minor writings Tacitus has *eligere*. On this change of usage, cp. note *Dial.* 10, 31. **ante aciem**: as the place of honor. Cp. ch. 31, 22.

20. Definitur et numerus: sc. *peditum delectorum*, just mentioned, for that the *equitatus* was an élite corps is taken for granted. The present passage, therefore, merely distinguishes between a select infantry and the rank and file of *pedites*, called *acies* below. Observe the emphatic position of the predicate: *and what's more, even their number is fixed.* **centeni ex singulis pagis**: the decimal system in military and political organizations is primitive Indo-European, and particularly conspicuous among the Hindoos, Persians, and Romans. A *pagus* according to Caes. *B. G.* IV. 1, 4, formed the one-hundredth part of a *gens* or *civitas*, contributing annually a thousand soldiers, which would thus correspond to the Roman *tribus*. A hundred *delecti pedites* (the equites are here not discussed for the reason given above) would, therefore, constitute a sufficiently small contingent to make it a distinction and an honor to belong to it. That the exact one hundred was occasionally exceeded seems to be implied in *quod primo numerus fuit*, the original designation being traditionally retained, as in the analogous case of the Roman *centumviri* and of the German *centner*, which in different localities and at different times was equivalent to 110 pounds. Cp. also note ch. 12, 27.

21. idque ipsum: viz. *hundari*, *hundarod*, *hundertschaft*. **quod**: for *qui*. On the neglect of the attraction, cp. ch. 18, 1; and note to *Agr.* 21, 3.

22. nomen: *title*. On the singular predicate, see *Introd.* p. lxix. **Acies**: here the common soldiery, as opposed to the *equites* and *delecti pedites*. **per cuneos**: a wedgelike, compact formation, like a Greek Δ. From its shape, the Romans compared it to a boar's head (*caput porci*). This method of formation was still in use as late as the battle of Hastings (1066 A.D.).

23. Cedere loco: this was in marked contrast to Roman discipline and is sneeringly alluded to by Germanicus in his speech on the eve of the battle of Idisiaviso. Cp. *Ann.* II. 14, *sine cura ducum abire, fugere*, and ch. 30, 8. **dummodo** = *dum*. In Tacitus only here and *Dial.* 25, 14. **consilii quam** = *c. potius quam*, *a proof of discretion rather than of fear.* This peculiar ellipsis, probably a colloquialism, occurs first in Plaut *Rud.* (vs. 1114), *tacitast bona mulier semper quam loquens.* In Tacitus it is found in fifteen other passages, but only here in the minor works. The genitives may be regarded

as qualitative, with the usual ellipsis of the substantive, here *documentum.*

25. in dubiis proeliis: *in undecisive battles.* They would even run the risk of being captured. **praecipuum**: *the very greatest.* A favorite word of Tacitus and generally used by him in a superlative sense.

26. flagitium: it is a noteworthy fact that Tacitus, throughout the entire treatise, carefully avoids mentioning any customs or traits which the Germans shared alike with the Romans (or Greeks), without drawing special attention to the coincidence, so e.g. ch. 9, 25 f.; 30, 2 f.; 43, 25. The present passage constitutes the only exception, for desertion was also a capital crime among the Romans (*Digest.* 49, 16, 6), and among the Greeks λειποταξία involved severe penalties, for the frivolous manner in which Archilochus, Alcaeus, Anacreon, and, in mere literary imitation of these, also Horace, speak of having thrown away their shields, must not be taken seriously as indicating a lenient attitude on the part of Greeks and Romans toward so heinous an offence. Cp. Aeschin. (cited below); Cic. *de fin.* II. 30, 97, *cum . . . ipse* (sc. Epaminondas) *gravi vulnere exanimari se videret . . . quaesirit salvusne esset clipeus*, and the injunction of the Spartan mother to her son, ἢ τὰν ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶς (*return with this shield or on it*). Tacitus' tendency to magnify at all cost the virtues of these barbarians here got the better of him. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxiii. **sacris adesse**, etc.: cp. the parallel passage in Aesch. *Ctesiph.* 176 (concerning the ῥίψασπις Demosthenes), ὁ μὲν τοίνυν νομοθέτης (sc. Solon) . . . τὸν λιπόντα τὴν τάξιν ἔξω τῶν περιρραντηρίων τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξείργει (= *nec . . . concilium inire*) . . . οὐδ' εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ δημοτελῆ (= *nec . . . sacris adesse*); also Xen. *Rep. Lac.* IX. 4; Plut. *Ages.* 30.

27. fas: significantly used for *licet* or the like, because of the violation of the solemn law, whether written or unwritten, involved in the crime. **superstites**, etc.: they preferred suicide by hanging rather than suffer the death penalty at the hands of the great assembly. Cp. ch. 12, 19. An historical example is furnished by the Spartan Pantites, recorded by Herod. VII. 232.

Chapter 7. **29. Reges**: here, as elsewhere (e.g. ch. 10, 20; 11, 11), used as a synonym of *principes*, for, although Tacitus mentions inferior Germanic tribes who were ruled by kings (cp. ch. 25, 10; 44, 7), yet the information concerning the social and political institu-

tions given in the first part of this treatise is *entirely* derived from non-monarchical communities, his knowledge of the few others being of a very vague description. These rulers were elected by the people, but hereditary claims were generally taken into consideration. They were ex officio the commanders-in-chief in war, and the highest authority in times of peace, though not unrestricted. Throughout the following, Tacitus is intent on marking a pointed contrast between Roman and Oriental despotisms. **ex nobilitate**: *in accordance with their high lineage.* The Teutonic word 'king' (Germ. *König*, A. S. *cyning*) originally designated, *offspring*, ἔκγονος; later it signifies a 'man of noble birth,' 'a prince.' Its restricted meaning 'monarch' is still later. This fact would be sufficient to show that the Tacitean *reges* are virtually identical with, or, at least, here include, *principes*. See also note ch. 11, 11. *Ex*, in the above sense, is very common in Tacitus. In this treatise again, ch. 12, 18. **duces**: *generals*, corresponding to Old High German, *herizoga*, A. S. *heretoga;* Germ. *herzog*, i.e. leader of the army. They were chosen, where there were a number of *principes* of equal rank or when several tribes united against a common foe. Arminius, the liberator of Germany, and Civilis, the leader of the great Germanic uprising in 70 A.D., are cases in point. **sumunt**: *select*, i.e. in case of war they chose from out a number of *principes* such as were noted for their prowess and courage.

30. **infinita aut libera**: *absolute or even arbitrary.* On this restrictive signification of *aut*, cp. note ch. 6, 11. With the statement, cp. ch. 11, 13; 44, 7 f., and *Ann.* XIII. 54, *nationem eam* (sc. *Frisiorum*) *regebant, in quantum Germani regnantur.* **exemplo potius quam imperio**: cp. *Ann.* II. 17, *insignis Arminius manu, voce, vulnere sustentabat pugnam.*

Page 36. 1. **si prompti**, etc.: this anaphoric enumeration, the last member being, as usually, amplified, belongs to the causal ablative, *admiratione.* **ante aciem agant, admiratione**: the alliteration is probably unintentional here, but not so below, *animadvertere — vincere — verberare*, where it marks a descending climax. For a concrete illustration, cp. *Chnodomarus*, at the battle of Strassburg, who in resplendent armor marches in the van of his army (Amm. Marcell. XVI. 12, 24); Tac. *Hist.* III. 21, *Sido atque Italicus Suebi . . . cum delectis popularium primore in acie versabantur*, and Béowulf 1041 f.

2. **Ceterum**: *besides.* **animadvertere**: *to inflict death*, a well-

known Latin euphemism, the absolute use of the verb, however, is very rare. — A few instances are recorded in later times, e.g. *Dexippus*, a Vandal king, killed a *dux* for violating a treaty, and *Chlodovech* slew a soldier who angered him at a military review. Caes. *B. G.* VI. 23, 4, in only apparent contradiction to Tacitus, expressly attributes the power over life and death to *magistratus qui ei bello praesint*, for he seems to make a distinction between the *magistratus* as a body and the *principes* acting as individuals.

3. **verberare**: in strong contrast with Roman custom, which permitted even centurions to inflict corporal punishment upon soldiers. Cp. *Ann.* I. 23. This was considered so degrading to a German freeman as to involve the loss of his civic rights. **sacerdotibus**: this is also at variance with Caes. *B. G.* VI. 21, 1, *neque Druides habent qui rebus divinis praesunt neque sacrificiis student*, but the passage only denies the existence of a religious caste or priesthood, not that of priests altogether. Besides, Tacitus may on the one hand have been in possession of better sources of information, while Caesar's statement may have been applicable to but a single tribe. The remaining alternative, that conditions had undergone a change in the interval, is less probable.

5. **quem adesse**, etc.: either *Wodan*, *Tiu*, the god of war, or *Thonar-Hercules*, on whom see ch. 3, 17 ff. In the Teutonic epics, precisely as in the Homeric, the gods personally participate in battles. The motive here given for this relegation of punishments to the priests is doubtless imaginary, as are the other profound reflections which T. attributes to the Germans. Cp. ch. 8, 25; 9, 3; 12, 21 ff.; 14, 3 f.; 18, 29 ff.; 19, 19; 22, 5 ff.; 24, 22. 31; 27, 29 f.; 28, 21; 29, 20; 31, 15 f.; 35, 8. 11 f.; 38, 9 f.; 39, 20 ff.; 46, 20 ff. and *Introd.* p. lxiii.

6. **Effigies**: these are images of animals sacred to different deities, the Germans having no idols (ch. 9, 2). Thus Wodan was worshipped under the form of a snake and the wolf was sacred to him, as the boar to Freyr, the bear to Donar, the ram to Tiu. Similarly among the Greeks we have the eagle of Zeus, the dove of Venus, the owl of Athene, the horse of Poseidon, etc. The German tokens reappear later in heraldic signs. **signa**: weapons symbolizing the attributes of the gods, as the spear of Wodan, the sword of Tiu, the hammer of Donar. **lucis**: for the Germans possessed no temples. Cp. ch. 9, 2.

7. **ferunt**: the subject is probably general or *Germani*, as in *credunt*, but *detracta* can only apply to the *sacerdotes* who alone

had access to the sacred enclosure. **quodque**, etc.: an appositional clause to be taken with the following: *and what constitutes*, etc.

8. turmam aut cuneum: *cavalry or even infantry*, for the latter was far more numerous, and its formation according to families presented incomparably greater difficulties. On this use of *aut*, cp. note ch. 6, 11.

9. familiae et propinquitates: on the collocation of the general and specific, cp. *Introd.* p. lxviii. — The same system is found in the Homeric age. Cp. *Iliad* II. 362, κρῖν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φῦλα (*familiae*), κατὰ φρήτρας (*propinquitates*) Ἀγάμεμνον, Ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρῃσιν ἀρήγῃ, φῦλα δὲ φύλοις. The custom doubtless dates back to the time of the great migration of peoples from their ancestral homes, it being naturally found expedient to keep the related clans together. **in proximo**, etc.: many instances of this are recorded, e.g. Caes. *B. G.* I. 51, 3; IV. 14, 5; Tac. *Hist.* IV. 18; *Ann.* IV. 51; XIV. 34.

10. pignora: *their dear ones.* In this sense the word is often found in poetry and post-Augustan prose, but in Tacitus, excepting *Agr.* 38, 20, only in the second part of the *Annals*. Cp. note ch. 18, 18. 25. **unde . . . audiri**: historical infinitives in subordinate clauses are not rare, although no instance with *unde* (= *a quo loco*), here expressing a customary occurrence, happens to be found in T. or elsewhere. The poetical and rhetorical coloring of this short paragraph, seen in the use of *pignora*, *exigere plagas*, *gestare*, *cibosque et hortamina*, *vulnera ferunt*, the accumulated anaphora (*unde* — *unde*, *hi* — *hi*, *ad* — *ad*), and the chiasmus (*fem. ulul.* — *vagitus inf.*), would be sufficient to defend the construction, it being, moreover, highly probable that it was directly suggested by the *hinc exaudiri gemitus* of Verg. *Aen.* VI. 557; VII. 15.

11. Hi: by attraction with *testes* and *laudatores*, the masculine forms being used *a fortiori*, as often in Latin. Cp. ch. 28, 25, *conditoris sui*, with note. For *testis* of a woman, cp. Plaut. *Rud.* 1338; Ovid, *ex Pont.* III. 9, 50; Suet. *Claud.* 40; but *laudator*, a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον in Tacitus, seems not to occur elsewhere for *laudatrix*, which is itself extremely rare, e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* III. 2, 4; Ovid, *Heroid.* XVII. 126. **sanctissimi**: *most revered.* Cp. ch. 8, 20 f. **maximi**: *most highly esteemed, weightiest*, a common meaning of the word.

12. ad . . . ad: Tacitus repeats a preposition with two or more nouns only in asyndetic (so here) or adversative clauses. See *Introd.* p. lxvii; *Ann.* XII. 39, *per saltus, per paludes*; XI. 17, *per laeta, per*

adversa. **vulnera ferunt**: a bold expression for 'they return and show their wounds,' i.e. the unmarried to their mothers, the husbands to their wives, not the same individuals to both, as not all the warriors would be married, though the text would permit this latter interpretation.

13. aut: *or rather.* On this qualifying force of *aut*, cp. note ch. 6, 11. **exigere**: *examine carefully.* **plagas**: for *vulnera*, which Tacitus did not care to repeat. **pavent**: *do not shrink from*, not necessarily said in contrast with the conduct of Roman women under alleged similar circumstances, for women would naturally recoil from such painful sights. The Germanic and Celtic women, however, frequently practised the healing art. Thus in the Waltharius epic, vs. 1408, Hildegund binds the wounds of the two heroes, and similar instances are related in the Norse sagas. Cp. also Mela III. 3, 48, *putant sanare quae apud alios insanabilia sunt.* **cibosque et hortamina**: on the combination of the concrete and abstract, a peculiar Tacitean inconcinnity, cp. note ch. 1, 2.

Chapter 8. **15. Memoriae proditur**: the ultimate source of the following is perhaps Posidonius. *Prodere* is not used in Tacitus of *oral* tradition. **inclinatas**: cp. *Ann.* I. 64, *inclinatas iam legiones.* **iam**: on the position, cp. *Introd. Agr.* p. xxvi.

16. obiectu pectorum: sc. *filiis et maritis*, not *hostibus.* Many similar incidents are recorded, e.g. Caes. *B. G.* I. 51, 3; Plut. *de mul. virt.* 5, *αἱ δὲ ἀνασυράμεναι ἐβόων· Ποῖ φέρεσθε, ὦ κάκιστοι . . . οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καταισχυνθέντες . . . ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους;* Nicol. Damasc. 66 (= *F. H. G.* III. 406); Justin. I. 6.

17. monstrata cominus captivitate: *pointing by cries and gestures to their imminent captivity.* The last member of the enumeration, here polysyndetic, to bring out each element into special relief, is, as usually in Tacitus, amplified. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii. *Cominus*, as shown by its position, has the force of an adjective. So *Hist.* I. 41, *viso cominus . . . agmine; Ann.* XV. 4, *nulla cominus audacia; Ann.* II. 20, and frequently with other adverbs. Cp. e.g. ch. 37, 8; *Agr.* 30, 15. **quam**: sc. *captivitatem.* On the agreement with a partial antecedent, cp. note ch. 2, 3. **longe**: a post-Augustan, but comparatively rare, substitute for *multo.* Cp. note *Dial.* 32, 15.

18. impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent: owing to a striving for conciseness, two ideas here coalesce into one: (1) the men greatly chafe under captivity in any case; (2) they

take it all the more to heart, if their women are captured. *Nomine*, a phrase seemingly taken from commercial life occurs repeatedly in Tacitus and elsewhere. *Suarum* is superfluous, but here adds a touch of affection. Cp. also ch. 13, 10; 30, 24. Translate: *They have an intolerable dread of captivity, and fear it all the more in the case of their own women.*

19. animi: *peaceable disposition, the hearts*, the *civitas* being conceived rather as an aggregate of individuals than a political organization. Similar quasi-personifications are frequent, e.g. *Agr.* 19, 22; *Hist.* I. 78; *civitatum et provinciarum animos adgressus;* IV. 66, *perculsis civitatum animis.*

20. puellae quoque nobiles: the stress, as shown by *quoque*, is on *puellae*. The emphatic position of the adjective was, however, necessary to avoid the collocation *inter obsides nobiles, puellae quoque*, which could only mean that the affection in which the Germans held their women rendered noble birth a less essential qualification than in the case of the male hostages. With the statement itself, cp. Suet. *Octav.* 21, *a quibusdam* (sc. *civitatibus male quietis*) *vero novum genus obsidum feminas exigere temptaverit quod negligere marium pignora sentiebat;* and ch. 20, 4. **Inesse**: sc. *feminis suis*, easily supplied from the context. **quin etiam**: on the collocation, see note ch. 3, 29.

21. aliquid: on the medial position, see *Introd.* p. lxvi. **providum**: *prescient, inspired*. This belief is abundantly attested. Cp. Caes. *B.G.* I. 50, 4; Suet. *Vitell.* 14, *vaticinante Chatta muliere cui velut oraculo acquiescebat* (sc. Vitellius). The Gothic king Filimer, a Christian, expelled *magas mulieres*, and references to them are frequent in the Teutonic epics. The tenacity with which such women, in particular, would cling to pagan traditions made them an especial object of attack on the part of the Christian propagandists. By the time of Charles the Great their influence seems to have been broken, and we hear no more of them, until they revive in the witches of the Middle Ages. **nec** = *nec ideo*, as often in Tacitus. **consilia . . . responsa**: the former, as shown by *adspernantur*, are unsolicited. So far, Tacitus means to say, are the Germans from being indifferent to the answers of their wise women, that they do not even reject advice which they had not themselves requested. Cp. Plut. *de mulier. virtut.* 6 (p. 246 C.) of the Celts: *περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης βουλευόμενοι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν.*

22. Vidimus: Tacitus might have seen Veleda in his boyhood

(see following note), but *diu* proves that *vidimus* must be taken in a general sense, *in our own day we witnessed*. Cp. *Agr.* 2, 6, *vetus aetas vidit;* Cic. *pro Mil.* 28, 77, *multas . . . victorias nostra aetas vidit;* Liv. XXII. 14, 6, *eam* (sc. *oram*) . . . *plenam hostibus . . . videamus* (we live to see).

23. **Vělēda**: she belonged to the *Bructeri* and took a most prominent part in the uprising of Civilis. She received embassies, formed alliances, and the most precious portions of the booty fell to her share. Her power was at its height when she correctly predicted the defeat of the Roman army. On the downfall of Civilis in 70 A.D., she was brought to Rome as a captive. Cp. Stat. *Silv.* I. 4, 90, and below. **plerosque**: *many*. Cp. note ch. 5, 17. **numinis loco**: cp. *Hist.* IV. 61, *late imperitabat* (sc. Veleda), *vetere apud Germanos more plerasque feminarum fatidicas et augescente superstitione arbitrantur deos* (*deas*?); 65, *coram adire adloquique Veledam negatum. Arcebantur adspectu quo venerationis plus inesset. Ipsa edita in turre; delectus e propinquis consulta responsaque, ut internuntius numinis portabat.*

24. **et olim . . . venerati sunt**, etc.: this passage corresponds to the statement, *vetere . . . fatidicas*, just cited, and probably refers back to the time of Drusus (9 B.C.). See below. The quasi-deification of Veleda, on the other hand, furnishes an illustration of *augescente . . . deos*. The contradiction, therefore, with which Tacitus is here generally charged, does not exist. **Albrunam**: the name is purely conjectural, and the etymology usually given ('endowed with prophetic power') mere guesswork and accepted only because it happens to be in keeping with the context. Whether the person here mentioned by Tacitus is identical with the barbarian woman of superhuman size, who in Latin speech forbade Drusus to advance any farther, is possible, but not certain. Cp. Suet. *Claud.* 1; Dio Cass. LV. 1. **compluris alias**: e.g. the *Chatta mulier*, mentioned above (l. 21); *Ganna*, a prophetess among the Semnones in the time of Domitian (Dio Cass. LXVII. 5). The Longobardian *Gambara* and the Alemannian *Thiota* belong to the 9th century. *Complures* occurs in Tacitus only here and *Hist.* II. 4; V. 22, *plures* being used instead. Cp. note ch. 1, 9.

25. **venerati**: *esteemed highly, did homage to.* In this weakened sense the verb is quite common in Tacitus, e.g. *Agr.* 46, 19; *Ann.* VI. 8. **facerent deas**: as they did later in the case of Veleda (see above). There is possibly also a satirical side-glance at the deification

of Roman princesses, such as Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, Nero's four-year-old daughter, and his wife Poppaea.—Observe the skilful transition, the artificial goddesses leading up to the discussion of the real deities of the Germans (*deas — Deorum*).

Chapter 9. **26. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt**: so exactly Caes. *B. G.* VI. 17, 1, *deum maxime Mercurium colunt.* The attributes enumerated by him, l.c., *hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur*, correspond to those of *Wodan* (Odin). The *petasus* of Hermes-Mercury had its counterpart in Wodan's broad-brimmed hat, the *caduceus* in his staff; both act as chthonic deities and are the gods of cultural progress par excellence. Engl. *Wednesday* (= *Wodansday*) and the French *Mercredi* (= *Mercurii dies*) imply the same identification, which is perhaps due to Posidonius. It was still accepted as late as the 8th century. The worship of Wodan, as the supreme deity, was, however, not pan-Germanic, at least not at this time, nor does Tacitus, as is generally supposed, really mean this, as *Deorum maxime* for *deum maximum* shows; but it was probably more strictly true of the *Istaevones*, or lower Rhenish tribes, for when Tacitus (*Hist.* IV. 65), in a fictitious speech, makes the Tencteri style Mars (*Tiu*) *praecipuus deorum*, he does so only because the epithet happens to suit the particular occasion. **certis diebus**: like *stato tempore* (ch. 39, 12), at *definite periods*, e.g. about the time of new or full moon (ch. 11, 3) or at the solstices. The interpretation *fixed days* would imply a too accurate state of the Germanic calendar, although the phrase is repeatedly so used in ritual and legal phraseology.

27. humanis . . . hostiis: human sacrifices are characteristic of all primitive rituals, the substitution of animals being invariably a sign of cultural progress, although sporadic instances continue to occur in later historical times. Cp. Plut. *Them.* 13, and *Quaest. Rom.* 83 (during the Second Punic War). That this practice was not exclusively confined to the Wodan cult is clear from Tacitus himself. Cp. ch. 39, 15; 40, 15, and *Ann.* XIII. 57, where the custom of sacrificing the defeated foe, *Marti ac Mercurio*, is ascribed to the Hermunduri and Chatti. **Herculem**: cp. note ch. 3, 17.

28. Martem: naturally identified by the *interpretatio Romana* (ch. 43, 25) with the Germanic god of war, *Tiu* or *Ziu*. Cp. Engl. *Tuesday*; Germ., *Dienstag*; Fr., *Mardi* (= *dies Martis*). Caes. *B. G.*

VI. 21, 2, says *deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus iuvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam: reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.* This was doubtless not true of the Germans in general, for their religion was certainly not a mere nature-worship. It may, however, in Caesar's time, have been partly applicable to some tribe or tribes living on the Rhine, the cult being borrowed by them from the Gauls. This hypothesis would, at least, in a measure account for the curious mixture still surviving in names for the week. Cp. Engl. *Sunday* (*solis dies*); *Monday*, the Fr., *Lundi* (*lunae dies*); *Jeudi* (*Iovis dies*), by the side of *Mardi* and *Mercredi* (*Martis, Mercurii dies*). *Freya*, seen in *Friday*, the Roman *Venus* (cp. *Vendredi, Veneris dies*), may well have led Roman antiquarians to identify *Freyr*, her brother-husband, with Vulcan, the husband of Venus. **concessis animalibus**: it seems that only those domestic animals which were eatable were included in this class; those sacred to particular deities, however, such as the ram in the case of Mars (Tiu), or the boar, in that of Hercules (Donar), were not sacrificed. **Pars Sueborum**: who these were cannot be determined, for, according to Tacitus, the Suebic race was by far the most widely diffused of all Germanic peoples (see ch. 38 ff.); but, as a goddess Nehalennia was worshipped with similar rites by the Suebic branch which Augustus transplanted to Flanders from the upper Rhine and Danube, it is not improbable that she represents the Isis of Tacitus.

29. Isidi: this is not an instance of *interpretatio Romana*, for the antiquarians consulted by Tacitus did not, as elsewhere, identify the German cult with a Roman one on the basis of similar attributes, but in this case assumed direct importation, because they fancied that the carrying of a ship's symbol in procession in spring and the *navigium Isidis*, on March 5th, constituted an external resemblance too striking to admit of an independent, native origin. **unde**: sc. *esset*. On the usual ellipsis of the substantive verb after *unde*, *inde hinc*, and the like, see *Introd.* p. lxix. **causa et origo**: words denoting origin are often combined in Tacitus. Cp. note *Agr.* 10, 22. **sacro**: the dative with *origo*, *causa*, *initium* is extremely common in Tacitus.

30. parum comperi: i.e. Tacitus' sources failed to explain, to his entire satisfaction, whence the movement for the importation of this cult (*unde causa*) arose and through whose or what agency (*origo*) it was transplanted. **nisi quod** qualifies *parum comperi* and voices the conviction that this cult was in any case not indigenous like the other Germanic rites, but clearly foreign. That the same ceremony

was also part of the Dionysus cult and generally very widespread seems to have been unknown to Tacitus or his authorities. **signum ipsum**: *the very symbol* of the goddess as distinct from the ceremony connected with her. **liburnicae**: sc. *navis*. It was possibly the *foreign* character of the vessel (see note *Agr.* 28, 8), not the vessel as such, which led to the hypothesis.

Page 37. 1. **advectam**: either by *land* or *sea*, for the verb is used in both senses. The question cannot be decided here, as it depends, in a measure, upon the location of the *pars Sueborum*. If understood of the upper Danube, the former would be implied; if in Flanders, the latter would be possible. On the whole, it seems that Tacitus would have decided that the cult was introduced overland, for in ch. 2, 14, he is speaking of whole migrations in *prehistoric* times, whereas the Roman Isis cult was of comparatively recent date (Second Punic War). **religionem**: of barbarian religious beliefs, Tacitus generally uses the term *superstitio*, but the worship of Isis, though originally Egyptian, had by this time become closely associated with Roman religion, not to mention that in the present case the cult was supposed to have been imported. **Ceterum**: *but to return to their own deities* (*deorum—deos*); on this use of the particle, see note 2, 11. On such fanciful reflections see note ch. 7, 5 and *Introd.* p. lxiii.

2. **cohibere parietibus**: the statement is, of course, self-evident among a people who were just emerging from a pastoral or nomadic state. Thus the very word *templum* (from *temno*, *to cut off*) originally denoted merely a sacred enclosure, and this is still the only meaning in Lucretius. A very similar explanation is given by Cic. *de rep.* III. 9, 14, and Min. Felix, *Octav.* 32, 1. **humani oris**, etc.: this was probably still true of the Germans in general in Tacitus' time, for even the Goths of the 4th century had not yet advanced beyond rude symbols (ξόανα), and such was doubtless the *numen ipsum* in ch. 40, 15.

4. **lucos ac nemora**: the same collocation occurs in Tacitus again, ch. 10, 18; 45, 21; and in *Dial.* 12, 29, with *secretum* following, as here. These sacred groves are often referred to, e.g. ch. 39, 13; 40, 5; 43, 24; *Ann.* II. 12; IV. 73. On the adversative asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. lxvii. **nominibus**: instrumental ablative.

5. **secretum illud**, etc.: *that mysterious presence which they behold solely in the spirit of devotion.* The awe-inspiring influence of silvan silence was not lost upon the Romans, as many passages attest, e.g. Sen. *Epist.* 41, 3; Lucan, III. 411; Quint. X. 1, 88. The epigram-

matic close of the chapter is a favorite device of Tacitus, but particularly conspicuous in this treatise. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxiv.

Chapter 10. **6. Auspicia sortisque**: the generic term is defined by the more particular. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxviii. **ut qui maxime observant** = *observant ut ii qui maxime observant.* A common elliptical expression, e.g. Liv. V. 25, 9, but in Tacitus only here. The fact itself is abundantly confirmed. Cp. e.g. Caes. *B. G.* I. 50, 4; Amm. Marc. XIV. 10, 9.

7. simplex: *uniform*, in contrast to the Romans, who had several methods of casting lots. **frugiferae arbori**: probably the apple tree and acorn-bearing trees, such as the oak, and especially the beech (cp. Engl. *book*, Germ. *buch*). Later, however, also the willow was used.

8. decisam: this is confirmed by the etymology of Engl. *lot*, Germ. *los*, meaning something broken off. **notis**: this is the earliest mention of *runes*, for *nota* is a technical term for a letter in Latin. They numbered originally 16 ideograms and constituted a kind of hieratic alphabet. The Roman letters, which were doubtless known to the Germans from an early time through coins, seem not to have been in general use before the 2d century A.D.

9. candidam vestem: white was the prerequisite color in all religious ritual, as symbolical of purity. Cp. Plato, *de leg.* XII. p. 956 A. χρώματα δὲ λευκὰ πρέποντ' ἂν θεοῖς εἴη (= Cic. *de leg.* II. 18, 45). **temere ac fortuito**: *without order and at haphazard.* This and similar synonymic collocations are very frequent. As here, e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* I. 49, 118; *Orat.* 55, 186; *de off.* I. 29, 103. **spargunt**: poetical and post-Augustan for *dispergunt, dissipant.* Cp. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 230, *spargens . . . ramo felicis olivae*, and note ch. 6, 10.

10. Mox: *thereupon, subsequently.* See note ch. 2, 15. **si publice consulitur**: *if the auspices are to be taken in a matter of public concern. Consulere* is the *vox propria* for augury. For the indicative, where the subjunctive of repeated action would be more usual, see e.g. ch. 11, 14. **sacerdos civitatis**: probably the oldest priest in the tribal community. Originally doubtless the *princeps* exercised the priestly function as well, as e.g. in Homeric society. See also note ch. 43, 25.

11. pater familiae: this is the invariable form in Tacitus. **precatus deos**, etc.: observe the different tenses of the participles. I.e. 'after having offered a prayer with uplifted hands, he with up-

lifted eyes, his hands being now free, picks up,' etc. The supposition that the *caelum suspicere* was called for to guard against dishonesty on the part of the diviner is incompatible with Tacitus' account of the Germans generally. Their naïve religious faith was as yet untainted by scepticism or suspicion. See below, l. 22.

12. ter singulos: three times he picked up runes, one at a time, i.e. three different runes out of the entire number spread on the white sheet. **sublatos**: viz. *illos tres surculos*. **impressam ante notam**: i.e. the previously inscribed ideogram, for the runes represented not mere letters but words.

13. interpretatur: *points out their meaning*, by combining the three runes into an answer. Cp. Caes. *B. G.* I. 53, 7 *is* (sc. Iulius Procillus) *se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat utrum igni statim necaretur an in aliud tempus reservaretur sortium beneficio se esse incolumen*. From this it would appear that the lots were cast a third time if the answer was negative in two previous instances. From Tacitus we further learn that an affirmative answer called for other confirmatory omens, which might, however, be secured the same day. A strikingly similar mode of divination is attributed to the Scythians by Herod. IV. 67. **prohibuerunt** sc. *notae* or *sortes*. **nulla . . . consultatio**: in strong contrast with the method followed by Roman haruspices, who continued their divination, till they secured the answer they wanted.

15. auspiciorum sc. *aliorum*, for the *sortes* were part of these. On this common ellipsis, see ch. 19, 14; 23, 12; and note *Agr. Introd.* p. xxxi. 3. **adhuc**: *further*, ἐπὶ τούτοις. See ch. 29, 13; 38, 27; note *Agr.* 29, 6. **fides**: *confirmation*. **Et . . . quidem**: continuative, with the adversative particle omitted, as usually. See note ch. 6, 9.

16. hic: of the country under discussion, *illic* being perhaps avoided, because *illud* just preceded. Cp. note ch. 3, 27. **avium voces volatusque**: On these alliterative groups characteristic of the Latin language, cp. ch. 27, 30; 31, 16; *Introd. Agr.* p. xxviii. It seems that, while the Romans paid attention to the direction of the flight, the number, and other details, the Germans divined rather from the arrival or non-arrival of the birds; some, as the owl and the cuckoo, portending disaster, the eagle and the raven, good fortune. **proprium**: the same mode of augury was, however, known to the Homeric Greek (*Iliad* XIX. 405), and is attributed to the Persians by Herod. III. 84, 3. See also Min. Fel. *Oct.* 18, 6, *omitto Persas de*

equorum hinnitu augurantes. From the Herodotean passage it might appear that *neighing* as such was a propitious sign, its absence a bad omen; but this cannot have been Tacitus' understanding, as *praesagia* and especially *monitus* show.

17. praesagia ac monitus: *presentiments and advice*, *monitus* usually denoting a warning advice. Both words are again combined in *Hist.* I, 3. **experiri**: *to make trial of.* Cp. Ovid, *Fast.* IV. 814, *magna fides avium est: experiamur aves.*

18. isdem nemoribus: viz. those mentioned above, ch. 9, 4. On the ablative of place where, see note *Agr.* 12, 4. **candidi**: Cp. Herod. 1, 189, ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν and note ch. 10, 9. **et nullo**: = *nec ullo.* On this exceedingly common usage in Tacitus, cp. note *Dial.* 12, 7. In this treatise again, ch. 20, 6; 28, 9.

19. mortali: here takes the place of a substantival genitive, *mortalium.* The sacred horses were not tainted by toiling for human beings. On this use of the adjective, see note *Agr.* 31, 8. **contacti**: *Dial.* 12, 7, *et nullis contacta vitiis pectora.* **pressos** = *iunctos*, *harnessed*, a poetic expression of which Ovid seems to have been especially fond, e.g. *Met.* I. 124; XII. 77; XIV. 819.

20. sacerdos: in times of peace, the priest seems to have exercised a number of independent functions. See also ch. 11, 10. **rex vel princeps**: on their virtual identity, here clearly shown by the use of *vel* for *aut*, see note ch. 7, 29. Only where several tribes combined against a common foe, or in a military confederacy as that of Ariovistus, would the term *rex*, as the leader of the allied forces, be properly differentiated from the *principes civitatum*, who for the time being voluntarily submitted to his authority. Wherever, in this treatise, monarchies proper, such as that of Maroboduus or among the inferior races of the north, are to be understood. Tacitus is careful to leave no doubt on the subject. Cp. ch. 25, 9 f.; 42, 7; 44, 7. **hinnitusque ac fremitus**: this seems to have been a stereotyped collocation, e.g. Liv. II. 64, 11, *fremitus hinnitusque equorum*, and hence Tacitus changed the order, on which device see note *Dial.* 8, 10. Usually the terms are regarded as synonyms, e.g. Caes. *B. C.* III. 38, 3; Verg. *Aen.* XI. 607, but they are clearly differentiated by Lucret. V. 1073 ff. — We should have expected *quorumque hinnitus*, but the relative is easily supplied from the preceding *quos.* For a similar ellipsis, cp. *Hist.* II. 92, *quos ipsos liberosque* = *quos ipsos quorumque liberos.*

22. apud plebem, apud proceres sed apud: on the repetition of

the preposition in asyndetic and adversative clauses, here combined, see *Introd.* p. lxvii. Observe the climax. Not only do the lower classes, as is but natural, and the more enlightened nobles place implicit confidence in this mode of divination, but the very priests themselves honestly believe in its efficacy, this being in glaring contrast with the cynically avowed rationalism of the Roman haruspices. Cp. especially Cic. *de div.* II. 24, 51, *illud Catonis admodum scitum est, qui mirari se aiebat quod non rideret haruspex, haruspicem cum vidisset.* The omission of *etiam* after *sed*, when correlated with *non solum, modo, tantum*, though extremely frequent in the *Histories* and *Annals*, occurs in the minor works only here, *Dial.* 32, 15 and *Agr.* 3, 16.

23. ministros: *merely the servants, interpreters*, like ὑποφῆται. The ellipsis of *tantum* is a characteristic Latin idiom. **illos**: sc. *equos.* **conscios**: are directly conversant with the divine resolutions.

25. gentis = *nationis, tribe*, as often in its restricted sense. Cp. note ch. 2, 14. **cum qua**: the postpositive collocation of *cum* with a relative pronoun is not found in Tacitus, except *Ann.* I. 25, where, however, *quibuscum* occurs in a direct citation from a letter of Tiberius.

27. popularium: *clansmen.* **quemque** = *utrumque.* So in Tacitus again, *Hist.* I. 82; II. 66; *Ann.* VI. 42.

28. conmittunt: *pit against*, a technical term of the arena. So e.g. Juv. I. 162, and especially frequent in Suetonius, but rare elsewhere. **pro praeiudicio**: similar contests are found among the Greeks, Romans (cp. the Horatii and Curiatii), and later Germanic tribes, but they all, like the *judgment of God*, common down to the 10th century, were not regarded as *preliminary*, but as definitely decisive of the issue.

Chapter 11. The discussion of divination naturally leads to a description of public assemblies, which were never organized before the *auspicia* had been observed.

30. De minoribus rebus: what these were cannot be determined; probably they comprised the ceremony of the investiture with arms (ch. 13, 31) and manumission of slaves. **principes**: contrasted with *omnes*, and here almost equivalent to *nobiles*, the usual vagueness attaching to the term, as elsewhere in this treatise, especially when used in the plural. See below, l. 27. **consultant**: as the following shows, this deliberation virtually amounted to a decision.

de maioribus: perhaps those enumerated in ch. 22, 2 f., to which may be added elections of the *princeps* or *dux* (ch. 7, 29), and questions involving life and death.

31. omnes = οἱ πάντες, the *plebs*. So frequently, especially in antithesis. Cp. ch. 17. 4; 46, 4; *Dial.* 40. 18. **ea quoque**, etc.: i.e. *res maiores*.

Page 38. **2. nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit**: *except in the case of an unexpected and sudden emergency.* The two adjectives are often combined, as in *Dial.* 10, 30; *Ann.* XV. 58, but usually in the sense of extemporaneous speech. **certis diebus**: see note ch. 9, 26.

3. incohatur luna aut impletur: on the medial position of the noun between two verbs, cp. note, *Dial.* 37, 5; *Introd. Agr.* p. xxvi. The calculation by lunar months invariably antedates the solar calendar, the new or full moon being, moreover, among most races regarded as particularly propitious. So the Spartans refused to fight before the full moon (Herod. VI. 106), and Ariovistus awaited the new moon before engaging in battle (Caes. *B. G.* I. 50. 4). Tacitus does not state that these meetings took place every two weeks, and they probably did not, — but simply that they would not be called except at such a time for the reason given. Cp. the Anglo-Saxon *Andreas* 157 f.: *they held ever council after thirty nights.*

4. agendis rebus: *for the transaction of business*, to be taken generally, not merely with reference to the *folkmoot* or assembly. The final dative of the gerundive, after an adjective, occurs in the minor writings only here; after verbs, *Agr.* 23, 25; 31, 11; 45, 22; and once after a noun, *Agr.* 22, 9. In the later works, all these constructions are exceedingly common. **auspicatissimum initium**: so similarly, *Quint.* X. 1, 85, *a. exordium.*

5. Nec = *non ideo, and hence.* So often in Tacitus. **noctium**: this was the natural outcome of reckoning time by the moon's changes. It is still in vogue in Arabian and Hebrew ritual, and is attributed by Macrob., *Sat.* I. 3, to the Athenians of historical times. Engl. *fortnight*, *sennight* (now obsolete), *twelfth night*, *hallowe'en*; Germ. *Weihnachten* (Christmas), *Fastnacht* (Lent), are all survivals of the same custom. Cp. also Caes. *B. G.* VI. 18, 2, of the Gauls, *spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum sed noctium finiunt.* In Greek and Norse mythology the day is accordingly conceived as the son of night.

6. Sic constituunt, sic condicunt: sc. *diem*, i.e. under these

conditions they appoint a time for the assembly and issue their summons. The alliterative terms belong to legal phraseology, particularly the latter. Cp. e.g. Gell. *N. A.* XVI. 4, 4, *status condictusve dies.* **nox ducere diem videtur**: *the night, as it were, ushers in the day.* Cp. Caes. l.c. *ut noctem dies subsequatur.*

7. Illud ex libertate vitium: *there is this drawback resulting from their independence.* On the omission of a substantive verb, like *oritur*, after phrases with *ex*, cp. ch. 12, 18; *Agr.* 5, 10, *periculum ex magna fama*, numerous instances occurring in the *Histories* and *Annals.* **ut iussi**: with the thought, cp. *Hist.* IV. 76, *Germanos . . . non iuberi, non regi sed cuncta ex libidine agere.* The reference is to the *great assembly*, technically known as the *ungebotene Thing*, which took place but rarely, possibly not more than three times a year. That it was of considerable duration is shown by *et alter et tertius dies*, etc. Absenteeism was, in a later period, heavily fined, although no special summons seems to have been issued. This was necessary only in the case of the smaller *concilia*, which were not convened *certo die* or *certo loco*, as the others.

8. cunctatione coeuntium: such dilatoriness was severely punished among the Gauls. Cp. Caes. *B. G.* IV. 1, 9.

9. Ut turbae placuit: their willingness to be called to order seems to have been conditioned by the customs described in ch. 22. **considunt**: the deliberative assembly of Germans depicted on the Antonine column is also seated. This enabled them to carouse the better. See ch. 22, 30 ff.

10. armati: see note, ch. 13, 31. **Silentium . . . imperatur**: in Greece and Rome this function devolved upon the herald. Its delegation to the priests made a breach of the peace or insubordination a religious offence, the assembly itself, summoned, as it was, on sacred days and convened in hallowed places, being thus put under the direct care and protection of the gods themselves. **tum**: *then, and then only.* **coercendi**: what means were used to enforce silence or the nature of the penalties inflicted is not known; possibly the loss of civic and religious rights was involved.

11. rex: cp. note ch. 7, 29. **prout aetas cuique**, etc.: as *cuique* shows, this refers particularly to the *principes*, for the *rex* or chief *princeps*, where several tribes gathered at the great assembly, would have the ex-officio right 'to take the floor' in any case. — Observe the anaphora. It is probable that only the *nobiles* took part in the debates, the lower classes being naturally excluded, as in Homeric

times, if for no other reason than that the ability to speak in public could not well have been possessed by them.

12. prout nobilitas: as the *principes* were all *nobiles*, this passage implies, and the later history of Germanic institutions fully confirms it, that not all nobles were of *equal* rank. Cp. also ch. 13, 4, *insignis nobilitas*.

13. auctoritate . . . potestate: note the effective chiasmus, and cp. for the thought, ch. 7, 1.

14. sententia: *an opinion, a speech.* **fremitu adspernantur**: *they repudiate with a loud shout.* *Adspernari* is a very strong expression. Cp. *Hist.* III. 10, *fremitu et clamore . . . adspernantur.*

15. frameas: see ch. 6, 6. **concutiunt**: *clash*, by striking the spear-points together. The same custom, to signify approval, prevailed among the Gauls. Cp. Caes. *B. G.* VII. 21, 1, *suo more armis concrepat* (sc. *multitudo*) *quod facere in eo consuerunt cuius orationem adprobant.* In the north this was called by a technical term, *vapnatak.* **honoratissimum**, etc.: the superlative implies that there were also other but less emphatic modes of assent, as the stamping of feet. Cp. *Hist.* V. 17, *ubi sono armorum tripudiisque* (*ita Germanis mos*) *adprobata sunt dicta.*

Chapter 12. This paragraph, the locus classicus of the Germanic penal code, is a model of condensation, though tantalizingly brief for modern scholars.

17. Licet: *it is lawful*, not merely equivalent to *concessum est*. It is used in place of *fas est*, because these *judicial* functions of the *folkmoot*, or large assembly, were probably not exercised under a religious sanction. On this meaning of *licet*, cp. Cic. *Phil.* XIII. 6, 14, *licere id dicimus quod legibus, quod more maiorum institutisque conceditur.* **accusare quoque**: i.e. besides being a deliberative body, the assembly *also* constituted the criminal court of justice in matters involving the death penalty. If such crimes had been known to come up for final disposition in the local courts, presided over by the *principes* mentioned below, Tacitus would have written *concilium quoque* or *licet quoque.* **discrimen capitis intendere**: *to threaten with capital punishment* is added to the general term *accusare* for the sake of closer definition. See *Introd.* p. lxviii. The phrase, like *litem, crimen, periculum, actionem intendere*, is a legal technical term. The verb in this sense occurs first in Lucret. III. 950, the metaphor being probably taken from the bending of the bow.

18. poenarum: *death penalties.* See below *diversitas supplicii.* Other crimes, though not belonging to *leviora delicta* and not punished by death, are here ignored, Tacitus having in mind only those committed against the community as such. **ex delicto**: *in proportion to the character of the offence.* **Proditores et transfugas**: these terms and *desertor* are naturally often combined, e.g. *Hist.* I. 72; IV. 58; *Ann.* II. 10; IV. 48. They are not synonymous, *transfugium* and *desertio* being often only distinct manifestations of *proditio.* It has frequently been maintained that Tacitus has here been inconsistent with his statements in ch. 6, 25, and 14, 20, concerning the infamy attaching to *deserters*, but he is there speaking only of men who would be *beyond the reach of the law.* Desertion, like other acts of treason, was punishable by death in the laws of Charles the Great, and has remained a capital offence down to the present time.

19. arboribus suspendunt: as this was the official mode of execution for traitors, it may explain in a measure the reason why some deserters, mentioned in ch. 6, 25, committed suicide by *hanging.* **ignavos et imbelles**: a not uncommon collocation, but of varied meaning. Cp. Liv. XXVI. 2, 11, *ignavi et imbelles inter hostis essent; Agr.* 15, 26, merely by way of reproach. In *Germ.* 31, 16, it stands for those physically weak and unfit for war. Here the phrase implies an overt act of cowardice and may include deserters who were caught in the attempt. According to Norse law, the coward in battle could be killed on the spot.

20. corpore infames: the three elements in this enumeration are emphasized by polysyndeton and alliteration, the last member being amplified. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii. The same phrase occurs in *Ann.* I. 73, and refers to unnatural vices, an instance being recorded among the Batavians by Tacitus himself, in *Hist.* IV. 14. **caeno . . . mergunt**: this is abundantly attested for much later times. Cp. the northern epic, *Gothrunarkritha* III. 10, *they led the woman into a foul swamp.* In East Frisia, in 1817, a female skeleton, bound with wickerwork, was found in the depths of a moor. This mode of punishment, though not for the last-named offence, was also practised by the Persians, and the Carthaginians, and was not unknown to the early Romans. Cp. Herod. VII. 114; Xen. Anab. I. 6, 11 (the death of Orontas); Plaut. *Poen.* V. 2, 65 (vs. 1025), *sub cratim ut iubeas se supponi atque eo Lapides imponi multos, ut sese neces*; Liv. I. 51, 9, *novo genere leti* (of the 6th century B.C.) *deiectus* (sc. Turnus) *ad caput aquae Ferentinae crate superne iniecta saxisque congestis*

mergeretur; IV. 50, 4. The following lines in Matthew Arnold's *Balder Dead* are evidently inspired by the present passage: —

> Cowards who were in sloughs interred alive,
> And round them still the wattled hurdles hung,
> Wherewith they stamped them down and trod them deep
> To hide their shameful memory from men.

insuper: here, ch. 16, 29; 34, 22, to be taken in a local sense, but in the remaining twenty-five instances in Tacitus, it means *moreover*, as e.g. in ch. 31, 18; 45, 1.

22. tamquam introducing a substantive clause is a peculiar post-Augustan substitute for the accusative with infinitive. It is most frequent in Tacitus; in the minor works only here; ch. 20, 4; 39, 20; *Dial.* 10. 6. 25; 25, 11. Excepting a doubtful passage in Nep. *Hann.* 2, 2, the construction is first met with in Seneca Rhetor. **scelera . . . flagitia**: the former seems to refer more particularly to crimes against the community, as treason and desertion, the latter to immoral actions of the individual, although this distinction is not invariably observed. **ostendi oporteat**: should be before the eyes of all, so as to serve as a warning example. **dum puniuntur**: the present indicative of a *dum* clause in *oratio obliqua* is the regular construction in Tacitus. Cp. note *Dial.* 32, 16. The motive here assigned to the Germans is not intrinsically improbable, but it is more likely the inference of the idealizing author or his authority. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxiii.

23. levioribus delictis: e.g. homicide, assault and battery, larceny, personal libel. **pro modo**: sc. *delicti.* **poena**: all these transgressions could be atoned for by the payment of a fine, the so-called *Wergeld*, which in old Germanic laws is regulated by numerous gradations, in proportion to the magnitude and character of the offence on the one hand, and the social and political position of the injured party on the other.

24. equorum . . . multantur: this can, of course, have been true only of the well-to-do. Among the lower classes, the fine must, even in Tacitus' time, have been money.

25. regi = *principi, chief;* used *a fortiori.* Cp. note ch. 10, 20. Probably where there were several *principes* of equal rank, part of the fine was paid to the tribal community. The fractional distribution, as later documents show, varied at different times and among different peoples. In monarchical Scandinavia the king received one third, the

community another, and one third was paid to the injured individual. Elsewhere the division into halves seems to have been the most usual.

26. propinquis: i.e. in cases of homicide, where the *multa* would be paid to the nearest of kin. **Eliguntur**: *furthermore there were selected*, not *elected*, which would call for *creantur*. On the emphatic position of the predicate, see *Introd.* p. lxvi.

27. principes: here used of the presiding judges, corresponding in a measure to the Roman *praetores peregrini* and our circuit justices. **qui iura . . . reddunt**: *expound the law, hand down the decisions.* The relative clause, used to distinguish these *principes* from those who had no judicial functions, here takes the place of an adjective, like *iudiciales*; otherwise we should expect the subjunctive *reddant*. **pagos vicosque**: *townships and village homesteads.* They are political subdivisions of the *civitas*, and as such are often mentioned together, e.g. *Ann.* I. 56. As the *pagus*, viewed as a military organization, furnished one hundred soldiers, so considered as a civic combination, a hundred assessors were selected to act as a sort of grand jury to assist the judges in the administration of the law. The number, like the Roman *centumviri* and the *hunnones* of the Franks, became a traditional technical term and was retained whether the comites consisted of more or less than the original one hundred. Cp. note ch. 6, 20. With the entire passage, cp. Caes. *B. G.* VI. 23, 5, *in pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt controversiasque minuunt.*

28. singulis: sc. *principibus.* **consilium simul et auctoritas**: *advice and legal sanction.* The same collocation occurs, e.g. Cic. *pro Caec.* 18, 51; Tac. *Hist.* II. 44. On the position of *simul*, see *Introd.* p. lxvii, and on *simul et* (ac, atque) = *et . . . et*, cp. ch. 30, 25; 31, 21; 34, 27.

Chapter 13. **31. nisi armati agunt**: this was in glaring contrast with the Roman custom and is often noted by Tacitus, e.g. ch. 11, 9 f.; 22, 31; *Hist.* IV. 64. The same practice is, however, attested for the Homeric Greeks (Thucyd. I. 6), continuing down to the time of Peisistratus; for the Celts (*Posidonius* ap. Athen. IV. p. 154; Caes. *B. G.* V. 56, 2; Liv. XXI. 20, 21); and, in modern times, for the Swiss canton of Unterwalden and for Iceland. This identification of the civic community with the army dates back to the great migration of the peoples from their ancestral homes, a fact reflected in the Latin *populus* and *populari* (*to lay waste*). **arma sumere**: the

solemn investiture with the shield and spear, in later times the sword, was an act of enfranchisement, entitling the youth to active membership in the civil and military organization of the *civitas*. Tacitus himself compares the act to the Roman ceremony of the assumption of the *toga virilis;* the correspondence is, however, only partial.

32. moris sc. *est ;* so often in Tacitus for the more usual *mos est*. Cp. note *Agr.* 33, 25. In this treatise again, ch. 21, 23. **suffecturum probaverit**: *shall adjudge him to be one who would prove equal to bearing arms.* For the absolute use of *sufficere*, cp. *Ann.* I. 13. *Probaverit* cannot be taken as the perfect subjunctive, for this would call for *sufficere* or *suffecisse*.

Page 39. The following paragraphs (ch. 13, 1–14 ext.) deal with the peculiarly Germanic institution of the *comitatus* which is a conspicuous feature in all Teutonic epics, as e.g. the Nibelungenlied and the Béowulf, and of which the feudal system of the Middle Ages is the ultimate outcome. It must have made a deep impression upon our author, as is evident from the detailed description and the more elevated diction in which the information is clothed, the most noteworthy rhetorical elements here accumulated being the following: *libration of clauses* (ll. 2 f., 9 f.; 14, 23); *anaphora* (ll. 2 f., 11; 14, 18 f., 29 f.); *asyndetic antithesis* (ll. 3 f., 12 f.; 14, 18 f., 23); *poetical or rare locutions* (ll. 3. 7; 14. 22. 27. 29. 30. 32. 2); *fulness of expression* (ll. 6. 14 f.; 14, 20. 21. 24. 3); *chiasmus* (l. 16; 14, 28 f., 2.); *alliterative antithesis* (14, 3).

1. propinqui: e.g. if the father was no longer living.

2. haec . . . toga. hic . . . honos: observe the attraction of the pronoun. So below, l. 11, and see note ch. 7, 11.

3. hoc: i.e. *arma sumere*. **domus pars . . . mox rei publicae**: *they appear as part of the family, subsequently they belong in part also to the state.* The expression is ambiguous through over-conciseness, for the German youth did not pass out of the *patria potestas* till his marriage. Hence, in translating, *pars* must either be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, or else we must suppose the ellipsis of *tantum . . . etiam*. *Rei publicae*, of a non-Roman community, is found in Tacitus only here and *Ann.* IV. 43; XIV. 27.

4. aut magna patrum merita: i.e. where the ancestors were not *nobiles*, although the *insignis nobilitas* would naturally include in many cases the alternative here mentioned. *Aut* = *or even ;* cp. note ch. 6, 11.

5. **principis dignationem**: *the rank of a princeps*, although he did not as yet share the privileges or functions of the position.

6. **adsignant**: *give, invest with.* **certis robustioribus** sc. *principibus.* As the number of youths so distinguished must always have been small, they were assigned to certain older leaders for purposes of training. *Robustior*, in the sense of *mature*, is quite common. Cp. e.g. *Dial.* 35, 11, also combined with *adsignari.* Here it is a synonym of *iam pridem probatis*, used in reference to the time when *civitas suffecturum probaverit* (l. 32). On the ellipsis of *sed*, see *Introd.* p. lxvii.

7. **adgregantur** sc. *a principe comitatus.* **rubor** = *rubori est iis.* The nominative for the dative is poetic and especially common with this word, which is here, as often in Tacitus, used for *pudor.* Cp. Tib. II. 1, 30; Ovid, *Am.* III. 167 and note *Agr.* 6, 14. **Gradus**: what these were cannot be determined.

8. **quin etiam**: on the position, see note ch. 3, 29. **eius quem sectantur**: a circumlocution for *certus robustior princeps.*

9. **magnaque**: *in consequence there is*, etc. On this use of *-que*, cp. note ch. 2, 9.

10. **suum**: *his beloved.* Cp. note ch. 8, 18. **locus**: sc. *sit*, and so *sint* after *comites.* The ellipsis of the subjunctive of *esse* is confined within narrow limits in Tacitus, but is quite common in indirect questions. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxix.

11. **Haec dignitas, hae vires**: the pronouns here refer to what follows; above, l. 2 f., to what precedes. **magno . . . circumdari**: this clause is placed between *haec . . . vires* and *in . . . praesidium*, as belonging equally to both, *decus* referring more particularly to *dignitas*, *praesidium* to *vires.* Cp. note ch. 2, 1. On the statement itself, cp. Béowulf 66, —

> Then was to Hrothgar war success given
> Honor in battle that him his dear kinsmen
> Gladly obeyed until the youth grew
> A great band of men.

13. **decus . . . praesidium**: the same collocation occurs in Hor. *Carm.* I. 1, 2, and Sen. *ad Marc.* 17, 1. Cp. also *Agr.* 6, 14, *decus ac robur.*

14. **cuique**: sc. *principi.* **nomen**: *a source of fame.* Cp. note *Agr.* 32, 18; 36, 12. *Nomen* and *gloria* are combined also in *Hist.* II. 37.

15. **comitatus**: nominative.

16. expetuntur sc. *principes*. Observe the chiasmus. **muneribus ornantur**: cp. ch. 5, 24; *Hist.* IV. 65, *legati ad Civilem ac Veledam missi cum donis;* and Béowulf, 381 ff.

17. plerumque: *often*. Cp. note ch. 5, 17. **bella profligant**: *ward off, settle*. Elsewhere this frequently occurring phrase is used in the more restricted sense of bringing something almost to a close. Cp. Cic. *ad fam.* XII. 30, 2, *profligato iam bello et paene sublato;* Liv. XXI. 40, 11; *Monum. Ancyr.* 20, 13, *coepta profligataque opera a patre meo perfeci;* Tac. *Hist.* II. 4; III. 50.

Chapter 14. **18. principi virtute vinci**: he must always fight in the van. Cp. *Hist.* III. 21, (cited ch. 7, 1); *Ann.* I. 65, *cum delectis scindit agmen* (sc. Arminius).

19. Iam vero introduces a more emphatic statement. *Base it is*, etc., *but quite infamous*, etc. Cp. Amm. Marc. XVI. 12, 61, *Chnodomarii comites . . . flagitium arbitrati post regem vivere vel pro rege non mori.*

21. defendere, tueri: on the asyndeton, cp. e.g. *Dial.* 23, 1, *fastidiunt, oderunt; Hist.* II. 70, *intueri, mirari.* The same verbs are combined in *Dial.* 7, 8; Min. Fel. *Octav.* 28, 3.

22. fortia facta: a poetical phrase, found in Verg. *Aen.* I. 645; but quite frequently also in prose, e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 59, 6; Liv. XXVI. 39, 3; Curt. VII. 1, 3, 22.—The same conduct is ascribed to the youthful Agricola, ch. 8, 31 f. Cp. also Béowulf 2093 ff. **praecipuum sacramentum**: *most solemn pledge*. On the superlative sense of this adjective, see note ch. 6, 25. The noun is a technical military term denoting the soldier's oath of allegiance, which Tacitus erroneously, it would seem, applies to the purely *moral* obligation between the *princeps* and his *comites*. The facts stated in this entire paragraph are abundantly confirmed in Anglo-Saxon epics. Cp. especially Béowulf, 2651 ff., —

> Better for me this body of mine
> Should fall with my chief in clutch of flame.
> Shame it were our shields to bear
> Back to our land, unless the rather
> We fell the foe and defend our chieftain;

2884; and Byrthnoth 220, —

> Ne'er shall 'mong this folk me thanes reproach
> That I from this host will hasten to wend
> My home to seek, now lies my lord downhewn in fight;

246 ff., 312 ff.

24. pace et otio: on these and similar collocations, see ch. 40, 10, and note *Agr.* 6, 26. The enervating effect of a long peace is repeatedly alluded to in Tacitus. Cp. ch. 36, 17; 44, 22, and note *Agr.* 11, 15.

25. plerique nobilium adulescentium = *multi principes.*

26. ultro: *on their own account*, *of their own accord*, i.e. without a declaration of war on the part of their *civitas.*

27. ingrata sc. *est.* **clarescunt** sc. *illi principes*, not *comites*, because all the glory acquired by success belonged, as Tacitus had just stated, exclusively to the *princeps.* On the statement itself, cp. Pomp. Mela III. 3, 2, *bella cum finitimis gerunt, causas eorum ex libidine arcessunt.*

28. magnumque: *and as a result*, etc. See note ch. 2, 9. **vi belloque**: the specific added to the more general term, on which see *Introd.* p. lxviii.

29. exigunt sc. *comites*, easily supplied from the preceding *comitatus.* The awkwardness of the change of subject and the possible ambiguity are here obviated by *principis sui* following. **enim**: i.e. they ask these gifts as their right, *exigere* being a much stronger word than *postulare* or *poscere.* The *principes* had to resort to *bella* to supply themselves with the means to satisfy these demands, sanctioned by immemorial custom. **liberalitate**: *by reason of the liberality.* Causal ablative. The word seems to be the Latin rendering of the Teutonic *milte* or *gifting*, a quality so inseparately associated with the duties of the *princeps comitatus* that in the Anglo-Saxon epic his throne is called *gifstol* (*giftchair*) and his palace *gifheal* (*gifthall*). Cp. in general, Béowulf 20, 80, 1020, 1380 f., 2633 ff., 2865 ff.; Helgakvitha I. 9, 22. **illum**: *that glorious.* **bellatorem equum**: this adjectival use of nouns in *-tor* or *-trix* is first met with in Cic. *pro Mil.* 19, 50, and becomes increasingly common after Vergil and Livy. In Tacitus, e.g. *Ann.* III. 6, *imperatori populo;* 74, *victor exercitus.* The present phrase was borrowed by Vergil (e.g. *Georg.* II. 145) from Theocr. XV. 51, πολεμιστὴς ἵππος, and is thereafter of frequent occurrence in poetry. The gift of a horse had in time become so stereotyped that the Teutonic word for a *present* (*maithms* and its cognate forms) actually came to signify a *horse* in Middle High German (*meidem*). In later times, the horse and spear were no longer permanent gifts, but temporary loans which reverted to the donor or his successor when the close ties which bound the *comes* to his *princeps* had been severed by death or other causes.

30. nam: like *enim*, with the usual ellipsis. The horse and the spear the *comites* demanded as an inalienable right, but the *epulae*, etc.

31. epulae . . . adparatus: *meals . . . banquets*. The *collocatio verborum* forbids us taking these words as a hendiadys for *epularum adparatus*. To become a *beodgenéatas*, 'a table companion' of the lord, was a high honor. For descriptions of such feasts, which were purely *voluntary* on the part of the *princeps*, see Béowulf, 483 ff., 620 ff., 1025 ff. Their inexpensive and unrefined, albeit plentiful, character is placed in sharp contrast with the extravagance and over-elaboration of Roman banquets. Cp. *Hist.* I. 88, *luxuriosos adparatus conviviorum*; II. 62, *exhausti conviviorum adparatibus principes civitatum*; Suet. *Vitell.* 13.

32. pro stipendio cedunt: *pass as pay*, for the *princeps* could furnish these meals or not, at his discretion, the antithesis between *exigunt* (*comites*) and *epulae cedunt* being strongly marked by the position of the predicates, a kind of chiasmus. In this sense *cedere pro* is extremely rare. Cp. e.g. Cato, *de agricult.* 150, 2; Colum. 12, 14. **Materia**: *the means*, also a rare use of the word. Cp. Ovid, *Met.* VIII. 876. **munificentiae**: includes the gifts and the banquets. Cp. Béowulf, 2431, *Gave me treasure and feast*, i.e. accepted me in his *comitatus*.

Page 40. **1. raptus**: cp. Caes. *B. G.* VI. 23, 6, *latrocinia nullam habent infamiam*; Pomp. Mela III. 3, 27, *ius in viribus habent adeo ut ne latrocinii quidem pudeat*; Tac. *Ann.* XII. 29, *Vannius regnum per xxx annos praedationibus . . . auxit*. **Nec arare . . . annum**: cp. Caes. *B. G.* VI. 22, 1, *agriculturae non student*: Cic. *de rep.* III. 9, 15, says the same of the Gauls, *turpe esse ducunt frumentum manu quaerere, itaque armati alienos agros demetunt*. On the meaning of *annus*, *yearly produce*, see note *Agr.* 31, 10.

2. persuaseris with the infinitive is very rare. Cp. e.g. Nepos, *Dio*, 3, 3; Sen. *de brev. vit.* 13, 4. **vocare** = *provocare*. So Caes. *B. G.* V. 43, 6, *hostes . . . vocare*; Verg. *Georg.* IV. 76, *vocant . . . hostem*. In Tacitus again, *Hist.* IV. 80; *Ann.* VI. 34. **mereri**: *to earn*, perhaps opposed to *pro stipendio cedere*. Observe the chiasmus.

3. Pigrum . . . iners: so combined in Sen. *de ira*. III. 3, 1, and similarly ch. 45, 25; *Agr.* 10, 20. **quin immo**: is somewhat stronger than *quin etiam*. It occurs in Tacitus only here and four

times in the *Dialogus*, and is always postpositive, except *Dial.* 36, 18, a doubtful passage. **sudore . . . sanguine**: *by the sweat of one's brow . . . bloodshed.* Alliterative antithesis — these particular terms being frequently combined — is more common in Tacitus than in any other writer. Cp. *Introd. Agr.* p. xxviii. On the epigrammatic close of the chapter, cp. *Introd.* p. lxiv.

Chapter 15. **5. bella non ineunt**: with special reference to the *comitatus*, although possibly not exclusive of the better classes generally. **multum venatibus**: this is confirmed by many passages. Cp. ch. 17, 8; 23, 14; 46, 14; Caes. *B. G.* IV. 1, 8, of the Suebi, *multum sunt in venationibus;* VI. 21, 3, *vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit* (in times of peace); Pomp. Mela III. 3, 28; Sen. *de prov.* 4, 14, *in alimentum feras captant* (sc. Germani). The Germanic mythology, moreover, and the national epics also furnish superabundant evidence of this fondness for the chase, and to this day the love of *hunting* has remained an ethnological characteristic of the Teutonic race.

6. plus per otium transigunt: i.e. whenever opportunities for *bella* and *venationes* were wanting, they gave themselves up to slothfulness rather than to agriculture, trade, or other modes of labor. **dediti somno ciboque**: cp. ch. 17, 5; 22, 27; and for the expression, Sall. *Cat.* 2, 8, *dediti ventri atque somno.* The passage emphasizes the contrast with the busy and active Roman.

7. Fortissimus . . . hebent: the entire clause virtually reiterates, but more in detail, the thought just brought out. Such fulness of expression becomes increasingly rare in the later writings of Tacitus. Here it is still part of the elevated tone so conspicuous in these paragraphs. **delegata . . . cura feminis**: an ablative absolute, explanatory of the principal thought (here *nihil agens*), is quite Tacitean, e.g. *Agr.* 2, 3. 8; 14, 13; 22, 6; 30, 16; 44, 2. The fact here stated is still true of the Frisians, and the custom obtains in many parts of Germany to this day. All this is, of course, in glaring contrast with the life of a Roman lady.

9. familia: probably to be taken here in the restricted and less usual meaning of the household or family, exclusive of the slaves. So e.g. Plaut. *Trin.* 379, occasionally even in Cicero, and quite frequently in Tacitus. **ipsi**: *the masters*, i.e. those who were neither *senes* nor *infirmi.* Cp. the phrase *ipse dixit.* **hebent**: *lounge about, are inactive.* The verb seems to occur first in Verg. *Aen.* V.

396. Cp. also Val. Flacc. IV. 41, *corpus hebet somno*, and the similar use of *torpere*, *torpor*, e.g. ch. 14, 25, 46, 5.

10. mira diversitate naturae: *owing to a strange contradiction in their character.*

11. ultro: *voluntarily.*

12. viritim = *a singulis*, opposed to *publice*. **armentorum . . . frugum**: the absolute use of the partitive genitive is extremely rare. Cp. Ennius, *fragm.* 114, *mensam sermonesque rerumque suarum . . . impertit*; Caes. *B. C.* III. 4, 6, *Thessalos ac reliquarum gentium . . . adiecerat*; Amm. Marc. XIV. 7, 18, *promittentes armorum*; and Tac. *Ann.* XV. 53, *ut quisque audentiae habuisset.* **Frugum**: *cereals.*

13. necessitatibus: *needs*, i.e. in times of peace, in case *bella et raptus* failed to furnish enough to entertain the *comites*, for the previous chapter makes it unlikely that these latter were among the donors. On the other hand, we must suppose that the *principes* were able to provide for their own needs, as is, in fact, implied in *pro honore*.

14. Gaudent praecipue: *take particular delight in*, doubtless because among these gifts there were usually included *equi* and *arma*, the very objects which they were compelled to present to their *comites*. Cp. with the phrase, ch. 5, 18; 21, 24; *Agr.* 44, 28.

15. sed et: for *sed etiam* or *sed*; again ch. 35, 7; *Hist.* I. 15; *Ann.* XIV. 39.

16. electi equi: *choice steeds.* The horses of the Germans were usually undersized. Cp. note ch. 6, 13. **magna**: *glorious*, so e.g. *Dial.* 40, 7; *Agr.* 1, 3; or else in reference to the *parva scuta* and *breves gladii* of the Germans. Cp. also *maioribus lanceis* (ch. 6, 5). The former interpretation is supported by Tac. *Hist.* I. 88, *conspicua arma, insignes equi.* **phalerae**: metal ornaments used e.g. as horse trappings or as medallions, of which large numbers have been found in graves. **torquesque**: *bracelets* or *necklaces*, such as are often alluded to or described in epic songs. Cp. Béowulf 1172, 1477. Observe the cumulative effect of the asyndeton, amplified as usually, in the last member, on which see *Introd.* p. lxvii.

17. pecuniam . . . docuimus: there seems to be a bitter allusion to the shameful peace which both Caligula and Domitian purchased. On the statement itself, cp. esp. Herodian VI. 7, 22, τούτῳγὰρ μάλιστα Γερμανοὶ πείθονται φιλάργυροί τε ὄντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀεὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους χρυσίου καπηλεύοντες, and Tac. *Hist.* IV. 76, *pecuniamque ac dona quis solis conrumpantur* (sc. Germani).

Chapter 16. **18. populis**: on this so-called subjective dative, see note ch. 3, 30. **urbis**: i.e. fortified towns. The fact, to which Tacitus here appeals as one of common knowledge, is amply attested by references in other authors. In the 4th century, victorious German tribes were still averse to occupying towns which they regarded as *munimenta servitii* (Tac. *Hist.* IV. 64). This repugnance, due to their nomadic instincts, was not overcome till the 11th century under Henry, the founder of cities (*der Städtegründer*). The late occurrence of the German word *Stadt* (*city*), is also confirmative of the above statement.

19. ne pati quidem: *do not take kindly to, do not like.* In this weakened sense, *pati* is quite common, e.g. ch. 42, 8; 43, 15; *Dial.* 10, 21; 40, 26. **inter se iunctas sedis**: *contiguous dwellings.* The clause is joined asyndetically, the infinitive depending upon *notum est.* **Colunt**: *dwell.*

20. discreti ac diversi: *separately and promiscuously.* The Latin is fond of such alliterative groups of synonyms. Cp. Cic. *pro leg. Man.* 4, 9, *locis disiunctissimis . . . diversis;* Lucret. V. 1441, *divisa . . . discretaque tellus;* and below, l. 21. **ut . . . ut . . . ut**: note the effective anaphora. The statement is, in a measure, confirmed by the endings of many modern city names, e.g. Lauterbrunnen, Ansbach (*fons*), Bielefeld, Lindenau (*campus*), Fuerstenwalde, Wernigerode (*nemus*).

21. Vicos: a group of homesteads. **conexis . . . aedificiis** seems to be a merely redundant amplification of *inter se iunctas sedes.* Cp. note ch. 15, 6. The supposition that Tacitus means to distinguish the dependent farmsteads and the dwellings of the free, including the manor of the lord, is not confirmed by the context, though such differences unquestionably existed.

22. spatio: an open space or yard fenced in.

23. sive . . . sive: these clauses are an explanatory apposition of *spatio circumdat*, although the Germans' ignorance of stone buildings is in itself the reason, why precautions against fire were imperatively called for.

24. Ne caementorum . . . tegularum: explains wherein this *inscitia aedificandi* consisted, *nam* being, as often, omitted, e.g. *Agr.* 13, 15. This is confirmed by the observation that the German words for other than wooden material, such as cement, chalk, mortar, brick, tile, etc., are of Latin origin.

25. materia: *timber.* So e.g. Caes. *B. G.* IV. 17, 8; *Ann.* I. 35,

the word having the same variety of meanings, as the Greek ὕλη, i.e. wood, matter of which something is made, subject matter, and matter as a philosophical term opposed to mind. **informi** : *which is shapeless*, the adjective being used predicatively. **citra** : a favorite post-Augustan substitute for *sine*, on which see note *Agr*. 1, 12, the prepositional phrase taking the place of a missing negative adjective. Cp. ch. 35, 9, and note *Dial*. 32, 2.

26. **loca** : i.e. the exterior.

27. **terra** : presumably a kind of ochre or lime used as a sort of whitewash. **aut** : *or rather;* for this qualifying or restrictive sense, cp. note ch. 6, 11.

28. **lineamenta colorum** : *colored outlines.* **imitetur** : *resembles, gives the appearance of.* So not infrequently, e.g. Plin. *N. H.* XII. 6, 12, 24, *folium alas avium imitatur;* Juv; VII. 42. **subterraneos specus** : also ascribed to other peoples, as the Scythians, Thracians, Cappadocians, and Armenians.

29. **insuper** : *on top.* Cp. note ch. 12, 20. **fimo** : in certain parts of Germany they are still called *dunk* (Engl. *dung*). **suffugium hiemi** : a bold use of the attributive dative, in place of an objective genitive (so ch. 46, 18), *hiems* being a quasi-personification. The construction occurs in the smaller writings only here and ch. 23, 12, but is exceedingly frequent in the *Annals*, e.g. I. 3, *subsidia dominationi.* It seems to be here due to the desire to librate with *receptaculum frugibus.* On this favorite device of Tacitus cp. e.g. notes ch. 30, 29; 40, 4; 43, 27; 46, 21; *Agr*. 15, 26.

30. **frugibus** : *crops.* With the statement, cp. especially Pomp. Mela II. 1, 10, *ob saeva hiemis admodum adsiduae, demersis in humum sedibus, specus aut defossa habitant* (sc. Sarthae); Verg. *Georg*. III. 376.

Page 41. **1**. **molliunt** : *alleviate.*

2. **advenit** : perfect. **abdita . . . defossa** : so combined in *Hist*. III. 33.

3. **aut . . . sunt** : a somewhat strained antithesis occasioned by the author's desire to end the chapter with an epigrammatic point. Cp. *Introd*. p. lxiv. The enemy either does not know of the existence of these caves, or, if he does, he fails to find them, because he has not the requisite time to search for them. Cp. Curt. VII. 4, 17, 24, *scrobes quos ita sollerter abscondunt* (sc. Bactri) *ut nisi qui defoderunt invenire non possint.*

Chapter 17. **4. omnibus**: *the common people.* On this use of the word, see note ch. 11, 31. If rich and poor alike were meant, *si desit* would be out of place, for the well-to-do would not likely have lacked a *fibula.* **sagum**: a four-cornered, rough cloak thrown over the shoulder. **fibula**: such clasps, made of various shapes and metals, have been found in great numbers and do not seem to have gone wholly out of vogue till the 11th century. **spina consertum**: the phrase is poetic, cp. Verg. *Aen.* III. 594, *consertum tegumen spinis;* Ovid, *Met.* XIV. 166, *spinis conserto tegmine nullis.*

5. cetera intecti: *in other respects unclad, without other covering.* With the adverbial accusative, cp. ch. 29, 13; 45, 29. *Intectus,* as an *adjective,* always has a negative meaning, but when it is the past participle of *intego* the preposition merely intensifies. Only the adjective occurs in Tacitus. With the statement, cp. ch. 6, 11, *nudi aut sagulo leves;* Sall. *Hist. fragm.* I. 59, *nuda, intecta corpora.* **focum atque ignem**: the second word is added for the sake of closer definition. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxviii, and Tibull. I. 1, 6, *luceat igne focus.*

6. agunt = *degunt vitam,* διάγειν. So frequently, e.g. ch. 19, 6. This mode of passing time naturally seemed noteworthy to southern people, accustomed as they are to a life out-of-doors. On the slothfulness of the Germans, cp. ch. 15, 6 ff.; 46, 5. **Locupletissimi**: the well-to-do, contrasted with *omnibus.* **veste**: i.e. trousers, as shown by the following. The Germans pictured on the Antonine and Trajan columns are also so clad. **non fluitante,** etc.: this seems, however, not to have been true of all German tribes, as appears from Lucan I. 430, *qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis* (= *breeches*) *Vangiones* (dwelling on the left bank of the Rhine), and from the omission of any mention of this garment by Caes. *B. G.* IV. 1, 10; VI. 21, 5, cited below.

7. stricta: *tight fitting.*

8. Gerunt sc. *Germani.* **et**: i.e. besides the *sagum,* which was a woven cloth. **ferarum pelles**: cp. Verg. *Georg.* III. 383, of northern tribes, *pecudum fulvis velantur corpora saetis;* Caes. *B. G.* IV. 1, 10, *neque vestitus praeter pellis haberent quidquam, quarum propter exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta;* VI. 21, 5, *pellibus aut parvis renonum tegumentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda.*

9. proximi ripae neglegenter: because they, unlike the tribes of the interior, came into constant contact with Roman traders and were thus made acquainted with Roman dress. Cp. *Agr.* 21, 1. *Ripae, boundary.* When used absolutely it usually refers to the Rhine, e.g.

23, 13, rarely to the Danube, e.g. ch. 28, 18; *Agr.* 41, 23, where see note. Here, possibly, both rivers are meant, although, in that case, we should have expected *riparum*. **ulteriores**: the same antithesis, as in ch. 5, 26 ff. **exquisitius**: *more carefully*. **ut quibus**: *in that, they*, as in ch. 22, 28.

10. cultus = *habitus*, as in ch. 6, 11. **Eligunt**: because not every wild animal would do for the purpose.

11. detracta sc. *feris*. **velamina** = *velamenta*, *hides*, denoting both the raw material and the clothes made from them. The word is first found in Vergil, e.g. *Aen.* I. 649, but frequently later. **spargunt**: *cover*, also a *vox Vergiliana*, e.g. *Aen.* VII. 191, *sparsitque coloribus alas*. Cp. note ch. 6, 10. **maculis pellibusque**: hendiadys for *maculis pellium beluarum*, doubtless used to avoid a double genitive. **beluarum**: probably *seals*.

12. exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit: the singular predicate seems to indicate that only *one* sea is meant, namely, the *Baltic*, *ignotum mare* being added to prevent the North Sea from being understood, for this was not *ignotum* to the Romans. See note ch. 45, 12. This is the earliest reference to what was one of the most important trades of northern Germany and Scandinavia down to the 16th century.

13. habitus: viz. fur garments. Identity of wearing apparel among the sexes is always a sign of a primitive civilization.

14. saepius: *rather frequently*, not the comparative, for the *viri* did not wear *linei amictus*. Cp. ch. 22, 28; 28, 25. **lineis amictibus**: Cp. Plin. *N. H.* XIX. 1, 2, 8, *Galliae universae vela* (sc. *lintea*) *texunt, iam quidem et transrhenani hostes, nec pulchriorem aliam vestem eorum feminae novere . . . in Germania autem defossae atque sub terra id opus agunt;* Strabo VII. 2, 3, λευχείμονες (sc. γυναῖκες Κίμβρων). **purpura**: probably some red mineral or vegetable color.

15. vestitus: a tunic or outer garment, such as some of the German women, depicted on the Antonine column, wear. **superioris** = *superiorem*, by hypallage.

16. bracchia ac lacertos: forearms and upper arms from elbow to shoulder. For similar Greek accusatives with *nudus*, cp. Verg. *Aen.* I. 320; VIII. 425; Ovid. *Met.* VII. 183. **proxima . . . patet**: observe the alliteration. The entire description of German dress suffers from over-condensation, and is in consequence somewhat vague and unsatisfactory, albeit the most detailed account preserved in ancient

sources. Thus no distinction is made between winter and summer apparel (cp. note ch. 46, 13); nor is it reasonable to believe that German garments presented such uniformity as is here implied, a supposition confirmed by numerous discrepancies in other writers, such as Caesar, for these cannot all have been due to actual changes introduced between his time and that of the author to whom Tacitus owes his information.

Chapter 18. The marriage customs of the Germans, dealt with in this and the following chapter, seem to have excited the genuine admiration of Tacitus, and in consequence the description is again stylistically elaborated, a feature foreshadowed by *laudaveris*. This rhetorical coloring is due chiefly to the following elements: *anaphora* (ll. 28 f., 30. 32 f. 1 f. 3; 19, 6 f. 13. 18 f. 19); *chiasmus* (l. 22); *epanalepsis* (l. 24); *libration* (l. 28. 30. 32 f. 1 f. 3; 19, 18 f. 20); *alliterative antithesis* (19, 22 f.); *effective word order* (l. 32, 1; 19, 6 f. 10 f.); *epigrammatic point* (19, 14 f. 22 f.); *rhythmical clausula* (see note *Agr.* ch. 30, 12); l. 22. 29. 1. 5; 19, 10. 15. 23. Observe also the contrast with Roman customs emphasized throughout.

18. Quamquam: *in spite of this*, for the last clause might easily have suggested laxity of morals. In rejecting this possible impression as erroneous, Tacitus at the same time skilfully establishes a transition to the discussion of marriage customs. *Quamquam* in an independent principal clause occurs in Tacitus only here, *Dial.* 28, 14; 33, 6; and in one passage of the second part of the *Annals* (XII. 65), in which he often returns to his earlier usage.

19. laudaveris: potential subjunctive. **prope soli barbarorum**: the Gauls and Iberians being among the exceptions which Tacitus may have had in mind. Concubinage seems, however, to have been permitted.

20. exceptis admodum paucis, etc.: cp. Caes. *B. G.* I. 53, 4, *duae fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueba natione . . . altera Norica, regis Voccionis soror, quam in Gallia duxerat a fratre missam.*

21. non libidine . . . ob nobilitatem: a variation, peculiarly characteristic of Tacitean style. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxx. Translate: *not for the purpose of gratifying their lust, but for the sake of their noble rank.* **plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur**: *they receive many offers of marriage*, such alliances being a bond of friendship, a guarantee of peace, and often of social value to the relatives of the woman. The expression seems modelled upon Verg. *Aen.* VII. 333, *conubiis ambire*

Latinum Aeneadae possint. **plurimis** = *compluribus, multis,* a weakened sense, especially frequent in later Latin, e.g. Min. Fel. *Octav.* 18, 5; cp. also ch. 31, 19; 35, 14; 40, 25; 43, 20; and the use of *plerique, plerumque,* on which see notes ch. 1, 9; *Agr.* 1, 10.

22. Dotem . . . offert: this dowry represents the survival of the custom of wife-purchase which prevailed universally in primitive society, but it is not improbable that even in Tacitus' time this gift was not given to the bride directly, but to the father-in-law, who thereupon relinquished his *patria potestas.* With the statement, cp. Strabo III. 4, 18, παρὰ τοῖς Καντάβροις τοὺς ἄνδρας διδόναι γυναιξὶ προῖκα; and Hor. *Carm.* III. 24, 19 f., of the Scythians, *nec dotata regit virum Coniux.* Among the Romans, on the other hand, the lack of a dowry was considered so disgraceful that the relatives of the bride felt it incumbent upon them to provide for one. Cp. esp. the *Trinummus* of Plautus in which the whole plot hinges upon this point.

24. munera = *dotem.* There is nothing in the context to warrant the inference that Tacitus was here alluding to the so-called morning gift which the bride received from her husband the day after the wedding, as *in haec munera uxor accipitur* is sufficient to show. The repetition of *munera,* an instance of *epanalepsis,* is in keeping with the elevated style of this paragraph. The figure is extremely frequent in poetry, esp. in Lucretius, Catullus, Propertius and Vergil, but naturally rare in prose. Cp. e.g. Plin. *Epist.* V. 6, 10, *inde campique, campi; Paneg.* 65, *legibus subiecisti, legibus;* 82, *hostium prospectaret, hostium.* Exactly as here, Propert. I. 3, 25, *munera somno, Munera.* **delicias muliebris**: Tacitus has particularly in mind the costly paraphernalia of a Roman bride, such as jewelry, toilet articles, gems, dresses, and the like. Cp. Juv. III. 160, *puellae Sarcinulis impar* (sc. the poor wooer).

25. boves et . . . et: the polysyndeton draws attention to each single element in the enumeration. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii.

26. frenatum equum: *caparisoned steed,* a poetic expression, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* V. 554; Caes. *B.G.* VIII. 15, 4. With the statement, cp. Cassiod. *Var.* IV. 1, *equos argenteo colore vestitos quales decuit esse nuptiales.* **In haec munera**: *on the strength* (*in view*) *of these gifts.* With this use of *in,* quite frequent in Livy, cp. e.g Tac. *Ann.* XI. 13, *in mortem parentum.*

27. in vicem ipsa: this was only one part of the presents, the sword, in particular, symbolizing the transference or abandonment of the *patria potestas,* the woman passing into the control of the hus-

band. That there were also other gifts is implied in *maximum* and is confirmed by later accounts of the Germanic marriage ceremony.

28. hoc . . . haec . . . hos: on the attraction, see note ch. 7, 11.

29. arcana sacra: *solemn rites.* Tacitus is perhaps thinking of the Roman *confarreatio*, the most hallowed ceremony in patrician weddings, but rapidly disappearing in his time. The character of the gifts themselves also shows that the author is speaking only of the customs of the rich and noble Germans. **hos coniugales deos**: i.e. the ceremony mentioned is to the Germans what the *confarreatio* and the nuptial deities, Juppiter, Juno pronuba, and Hymenaeus, are to the Romans. **Ne se mulier . . . putet**, etc.: Tacitus has here again allowed his enthusiasm to get the better of him, for the Germans did not, of course, indulge in such moralizing reflections, but simply followed time-honored traditions whose symbolical significance must even at that period have been obscure. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxiii. *Extra* is used in a figurative, non-local sense, as frequently in Tacitus and elsewhere; in anaphora, as here, e.g. *Agr.* 8, 2. II. Translate: *lest the woman imagine herself incapable of brave thoughts and exempt from the perils of conflict.*

31. ipsis incipientis . . . auspiciis: *at the very initiatory nuptial preliminaries.* Such pleonasms are especially common, in both Greek and Latin, with words denoting beginning. Cp. ch. 30, 21 f. and note *Dial.* 11, 18, *ingredi . . . auspicatus sum.* **admonetur . . . sociam**: observe the irregular and therefore effective word order.

Page 42. **1. pace . . . proelio**: the regular contrast to *pax* is *bellum*, but *proelium* is here used to secure the favorite alliterative antithesis, which is further emphasized by anaphora. **passuram ausuramque**: *called upon* (destined) *to endure and undergo the same hardships*, the former referring more particularly to *in pace*, the latter to *in proelio*, for, if taken equally with both, we should have an uncalled-for ὕστερον πρότερον. Cp. note ch. 2, 1. Both verbs are so joined in *Hist.* II. 46, *extrema passuros ausurosque.* **hoc . . . hoc . . . hoc**: observe the neglect of the attraction of the pronoun as compared with l. 28 f. above, *hoc . . . haec . . . hos*, and cp. note ch. 6, 21.

2. denuntiant: *clearly indicate.* In Tacitus again *Ann.* II. 10.

3. Sic vivendum, sic pereundum: i.e. this conviction she should

cherish to her dying day, for the *immediately* preceding and following clauses clearly do not allow us to refer *vivendum* to *in pace*, and *pereundum* to *in proelio*. **accipere se**: sc. *arma*. The relative agrees with only a part of the composite antecedent (here the last mentioned), *boves* and *equus* being, of course, excluded as possible objects to be handed down to future generations. On this usage, cp. note ch. 2, 3; and for an English example, see Huc's *Travels in Thibet* II. 99, *Furs and gold which they collect from the dust of their rivers.*

4. **inviolata ac digna reddat**: *which she might hand over untarnished to her children and render worthy of passing to her daughters-in-law, by them in turn to be bequeathed to their descendants.* The verb is best taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *inviolata* and *digna quae . . . accipiant*. *Nurus*, the daughters-in-law, would receive the weapons from their husbands, in conformity with the statement in l. 26. The omission of any mention of her own daughters as recipients of arms is noteworthy; partly because *liberis* is thus confined to the meaning of *sons*, partly because l. 27 f. implies that the daughters were not excluded from this inheritance. The incongruity is due either to a striving for rhetorical conciseness or to the fact that women were not generally allowed to inherit. Cp. note to ch. 20, 5 ff. *Quae* is also used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, as the object of *accipiant* and the subject of *referantur*. The same construction occurs in Tacitus again, *Dial.* 8, 16; *Ann.* II. 83; and perhaps I. 76. It is equally rare elsewhere, e.g. Sall. *Jug.* 14, 16; 31, 18; 101, 5; Liv. XXII. 6, 12; Sen. *de tranq.* 8, 9.

5. **nepotes**: either *their descendants* or *her grandsons*. The former usage is found only in the poets, occurring first in Catull. e.g. XLIX. 1, thereafter frequently, but not elsewhere in Tacitus, nor does he employ the word in the sense of *grandchildren*. Stylistic reasons favor the first translation, while *liberis-sons*, may be urged on behalf of the second.

Chapter 19. 6. **Ergo**: *hence*, i.e. because of this sanctity of the marriage. So e.g. ch. 22, 8, the resumptive force of the particle being much the rarer in Tacitus. Cp. note ch. 45, 4. **saeptae**: *hedged in*, *guarded*. With the chiastic collocation of *saeptae . . . corruptae*, placed at the beginning and end to heighten the contrast, cp. ch. 14, 29 ff., *exigunt . . . cedunt*; 42, 2 ff. *praecipua . . . parta*. **agunt**: *live*. See note ch. 17, 6. **spectaculorum inlecebris**: their demoralizing influence is often commented on by Roman writers,

e.g. Prop. II. 19, 9; Sen. *Epist.* 7, 2; and esp. Ovid, *Trist.* II. 280 ff.; *A. A.* I. 97 ff.

7. conviviorum inritationibus: cp. esp. Ovid, *A. A.* I. 229 ff., *Heroid.* 16, 225 ff.; 17, 75 ff.; Quint. I. 2, 8; Juv. XI. 162 ff.; the presence of women, however, was not so common at banquets as at the amphitheatre.

8. Litterarum secreta: *clandestine love-letters.* Cp. Juv. VI. 277. The fact here stated is doubtless true, but the absence of such compromising correspondence was hardly due to the chastity of German women, but rather to the rarity of writing among them, the practice not becoming more general among the Germans till the 10th century. Even Charles the Great could not write his own name. Tacitus' desire to exalt the purity of Germanic society at the expense of Roman degeneracy has here tempted him to prove too much. Cp. note ch. 4, 6.

9. in: on the concessive meaning. cp. ch. 24, 29; *Dial.* 6, 13; *Ann.* II. 37; III. 76; XV. 57.

10. poena praesens: *the punishment is inflicted on the spot*, in striking contrast with the great leniency of Roman law, according to which the adulteress was deprived of one third of her separate property, one half of her dowry, and suffered *relegatio* to some island; the German husband, on the other hand, could kill her with his sword, have her hung, or even burned alive, though Tacitus seems to have been ignorant of these severer punishments (often mentioned in German laws), as is evident from ch. 11 ff. **et maritis permissa**: this clause is, strictly speaking, superfluous, but it is added to emphasize still further the contrast with the Roman custom in Tacitus' time, for it was not till the enactment of Augustus' *lex Iulia de adulteriis* (18 B.C.) that the husband was prohibited from slaying his unfaithful wife unless caught in the act, though the father had the right of killing his guilty daughter at any time. **abscisis crinibus**: long hair was a sign of noble birth or distinction; cp. *Langobardi* and *criniti*, an epithet of the old Frankish kings. In the case of women it was a highly prized possession, and to be deprived of it was, therefore, a deep humiliation. According to legal documents of the 8th century, he who wantonly cut off the hair of a free woman had to pay nearly four times the fine demanded in the case of a boy. Still earlier German laws prescribe that the hair of an adulteress should be cut off at the back of the head.

11. nudatam: sc. *adulteram*, to be supplied out of *adulteria*, as

in *Ann.* II. 50, cited below, the word being here, as usually, taken in a restricted sense. Cp. note ch. 6, 11. It would seem that her cloak was torn off and her dress cut at the back. **coram propinquis**: *i.e.* the relatives of both husband and wife. Their presence implied approval of the punishment, and would thus correspond to the actual trial of the wife before her husband and relatives, who served as assessors, a procedure often mentioned as an old Roman custom, and said to have been introduced by Romulus. Cp. Dionys. Halic. *Arch.* II. 25; Liv. XXXIX. 18, 6; Suet. *Tib.* 35, and Tac. *Ann.* II. 50; XIII. 32. Observe the effective word-order throughout.

12. per omnem vicum: *through the entire village.* **verbere agit**: cp. the passage in an old law of the Lombards, *publicus . . . faciat eas decalvare* (= *abscisis crinibus*) *et fustare per vicos*; and in the famous letter of St. Boniface, written in 745 A.D., to the Anglo-Saxon king Ethelbald, we find a very similar statement, *flagellatam eam mulieres per pagos . . . ducunt, virgis caedentes et vestimenta eius abscidentes iuxta cingulum . . . ut ceterae timorem adulterandi . . . habeant.* **publicatae enim**, etc.: *enim*, with the usual ellipsis to be supplied. This may seem a very severe punishment for the adulteress, but *unchastity when once brought to public notice* (in the way described) *finds no pardon whatsoever.*

13. pudicitiae: *unchastity, disgrace*, a meaning quite common in its synonym, *pudor.* Engl. *shame* is equally ambiguous. For a very bold transference of a positive into its negative, cp. Lucret. V. 1405, *somno* (= *want of sleep*).

14. maritum sc. *alium* or *alterum*, as is clear from the preceding and the following, esp. l. 15 ff. For a similar ellipsis, cp. ch. 10, 15; 23, 12; *Introd. Agr.* p. xxxi. 3. **invenerit**: sc. *adultera.* **vitia**: *vice.*

15. conrumpere et conrumpi: so joined in *Ann.* XIV. 20, and similarly III. 54, *conruptus simul et conruptor.* Tacitus often thus combines the active and the passive of the same verb, e.g. *Agr.* 5, 28, *noscere . . . nosci; Dial.* 8, 17, *acceperint . . . accipi possit.* Cp. also note ch. 38, 9. **saeculum**: *the spirit of the age, the way of the world.* In this sense the word does not seem to occur elsewhere. **Melius quidem adhuc** sc. *agunt; are indeed still better off; adhuc* = *etiam* is often used in post-Augustan Latin to strengthen a comparative. With the ellipsis of a verb of doing, frequent in Tacitus, cp. e.g. *Agr.* 19, 27; after *melius*, as here, e.g. Cic. *de leg.* II. 11, 26; Tac. *Ann.* I. 43; IV. 38. Tacitus means to say that while the prohibition of a

second marriage in the case of an adulteress is in praiseworthy contrast with Roman usage, those communities approach a still higher ideal among whom no second marriages, even of widows, are permitted. It is not known what German tribes the author had in mind, but the same rigid rule obtains among the North Frisians of to-day, and there are traces of a custom resembling the Hindoo suttee in northern legends. The lofty motives here ascribed to the Germans are, as usual, due to the enthusiasm of the author, such abstract reflections being naturally foreign to half civilized peoples. Cp. note ch. 7, 5.

17. spe votoque uxoris: *the hope and vow of marriage.* **semel transigitur**: *it is done with once for all.* Cp. *Agr.* 34, 5; *Ann.* II. 65; and Liv. IX. 12, 11. Of *semel* in this sense, no certain instance is found in pre-Tacitean prose. It is, however, common in poetry, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* XI. 418; Ovid, *Her.* V. 104; X. 112., and in the Church fathers.

18. Sic . . . quo modo: for the more usual *sic . . . ut.* So e.g. *Dial.* 36, 28 f.; *Agr.* 34, 29. With the thought, cp. Prop. V. 11, 36, *in lapide hoc uni nupta fuisse legar*, and the frequent epithets *uniiuga*, *univira*, etc., on sepulchral inscriptions, e.g. *C. I. L.* II. 78, *uno contenta marito.* **unum . . . unamque**: anaphora of adjectives, rare in other writers, is especially common in Tacitus. Cp. ch. 14, 18; and note *Dial.* 40, 13.

20. ne tamquam . . . ament: i.e. she should not, as it were, love the married state as such, for in that case a community could not but encourage widows to remarry, but she was to remain true to the end of her days to the memory of the husband of her youth.

21. Numerum . . . finire: *to restrict the number of children*, a practice common among the wealthier classes in Rome. Cp. Juv. II. 29 ff.; VI. 366 ff.; 595. The Germans were, however, permitted, at least at a later time, to expose newborn children, if deformed, or for other causes, and to sell them into slavery. *Finire = definire.* So *Dial.* 38, 15; *Ann.* XIII. 38, 49, with *numerus* as here.

22. adgnatis = ἐπιγόνοις. So *Hist.* V. 5, *necare quemquam ex adgnatis nefas* (sc. Iudaeis). The word is often used in the restricted sense of sons, born after the father had made his will; but as there were no wills among the Germans (cp. ch. 20, 6), it must here refer to younger sons in general. This in turn would seem to imply the existence of the custom of primogeniture which Tacitus, however, appears to restrict to the Tencteri (see note ch. 32, 4). The incongruity, if not the result of carelessness, may be due merely to the author's superficial information on these subjects. **plusque ibi boni mores,**

etc.: the epigrammatic antithesis with which the chapter is intentionally made to close (see *Introd.* p. lxiv) seems to have been a commonplace, connected with the conception of a Golden Age in which man's conduct was still guided by *unwritten* laws, a doctrine with which *Posidonius* had familiarized the Romams. Cp. e.g. Sall. *Cat.* 9, 1, *ius bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat;* Justin. II. 2, 15, *iustitia gentis* (sc. Scytharum) *ingeniis culta, non legibus;* Hor. *Carm.* III. 24, 35.

23. alibi bonae leges: viz. at Rome, with special reference to the *lex Iulia de adulteriis*, *de maritandis ordinibus*, and the *lex Papia Poppaea.* The earliest Germanic law, still extant, is the *lex Salica* of the 5th century. On the repetition of the adj. see note *Dial.* 40, 13.

Chapter 20. The mention of *liberi*, in the closing paragraph of ch. 19, naturally leads to a discussion of their education and the question of inheritance.

24. In omni domo: i.e. rich and poor alike. **nudi**: here to be taken strictly. Cp. Pomp. Mela III. 3, 26, *nudi agunt antequam puberes sint . . . viri sagis velantur.* **sordidi**: as Tacitus is speaking here only of children, there is no contradiction with ch. 22, 27, where see note. **in hos . . . in haec**: note the anaphora. On the bodily size of the Germans, cp. note ch. 4, 9.

25. excrescunt: in Tacitus only here. **Sua quemque mater . . . alit**: cp. *Dial.* 28, 21; *Agr.* 4. In Germany a change in this respect begins to be noticeable in the 6th century.

26. delegantur: sc. *infantes;* slightly contemptuous for *committuntur.* See the exact parallel in *Dial.* 29, 10, *nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae.* On the change of subject, cp. note ch. 3, 18.

27. Dominum: *the future master*, designated in *Dial.* 29, 15, as *infans dominus.* With this anticipatory sense, cp. *Dial.* 28, 3, *principes liberos* (destined to be); *Ann.* III. 59, *rectorem generis humani* (the future ruler). The fact here stated is, in a measure, confirmed by the observation that the same Germanic word was used for both *boy* and *slave.* Cp. *Knabe*, *Knecht*, and so also in Greek παῖς, Lat. *puer.* **educationis deliciis**: *educational refinements.* Cp. Caes. *B. G.* VI. 21, 3, *ab parvulis labori ac duritiae student;* Sen. *Epist.* 36, 7, *si in Germania* (sc. *natus esset*) *protinus puer tenerum hastile vibraret.*

29. aetas: cp. note ch. 13, 32. The slaves could not bear arms. **donec** with pres. subj. is poetic, and generally rare in prose except

in Tacitus. **virtus**: εὐγένεια, *blue blood*. A bold personification; i.e. *virtus*, like a father, acknowledges the *ingenui* as her legitimate offspring, *adgnoscere* being the technical legal term for this recognition. **Sera . . . venus**: *they marry late*. The fact is attested by Caes. *B.G.* VI. 21, 4, *qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt maximam inter suos ferunt laudem*, etc., and Pomp. Mela III. 3, 26, *longissima apud eos pueritia est*.

30. inexhausta: a Vergilian word (*Aen.* X. 174), in Tacitus again *Hist.* V. 7, but apparently not elsewhere in prose.

31. festinantur: *hurried into marriage*, i.e. in contrast with Roman custom, on which see note *Agr.* 9, 28. **iuventa**, poetic and post-Augustan for *iuventus*. With the collocation, cp. ch. 28, 18; *Agr.* 16, 1; *Ann.* II. 25, *eadem virtute, pari ferocia*.

32. pares validaeque = *pares aetate ac pariter validae*, in most striking contrast with Roman custom. **miscentur**: *marry*, like the Homeric μιγῆναι.

Page 43. **1. referunt**: *in turn exhibit, reproduce*. So very frequent in poetry, but comparatively rare in prose. Cp. e.g. Lucret. IV. 1210; Verg. *Georg.* III. 128, *invalidique patrum referant ieiunia nati;* Plin. *Epist.* V. 16, 9, and ch. 43, 13. **Sororum filiis**, etc.: this statement probably reflects polyandrous conditions of society in which descent passed through the female line, the so-called *Mutterrecht* (*mother right*). Engl. *nephew*, Germ. *neffe*, derived from *nepos*, *grandson*, and the Latin *avunculus* (uncle on the mother's side), seem to point to the same intimate relationship. The omission of *sororum filiae* is strange, in view of what is said of the preference for girls as hostages in ch. 8, 19 f., but girls passed into the tutelage of their brothers. In case there were no sons, the *avunculus* or *patruus* would, in all probability, step in as guardian. Tacitus often refers to this Germanic peculiarity, e.g. *Hist.* IV. 33; V. 20; *Ann.* XII. 29. **apud . . . apud**: on the repetition of the preposition, see *Introd.* p. lxvii.

2. Quidam: i.e. *quaedam Germanorum gentes*.

4. exigunt sc. *hunc nexum*, i.e. *sororum filios vel filias*, a principle which the Roman conquerors did not fail to adopt. Cp. Suet. *Octav.* 21 (cited note ch. 8, 20). **tamquam**: *in the conviction that*. On these substantive clauses, cp. note ch. 12, 22. **animum**, etc.: *take a stronger hold upon the affections and embrace a wider relationship*.

5. teneant sc. *huius modi obsides*, viz. *sororum filii*. **tamen**:

i.e. in spite of these intimate ties between uncle and nephew, the inheritance passed in the direct line of consanguinity. Hence, *avunculi* follows *patrui* (uncle on the father's side).

6. liberi: *sons*, as in ch. 18, 4, for daughters and women generally were rigidly excluded from inheriting immovable property down to very much later times. **et nullum testamentum**: again in striking contrast with Rome. The entire history of Teutonic jurisprudence confirms this statement, written testation not being generally met with till the 11th century. Engl. *heir* (= *heres*) and the German *Erbe* (*orbus*, *ὄρφανος*) are also of foreign origin.

7. proximus gradus, etc.: the Romans, as early as the laws of the Twelve Tables (5th century B.C.), distinguished between the *testamentaria* and the *iusta* or *legitima hereditas*. It is only the latter that was known to the Germans and most primitive peoples. **in possessione** sc. *sunt*, i.e. *take possession*, *namely*, etc. The noun is from *possīdo*, not *possĭdeo*, as in *Agr.* 18, 4; *Ann.* II. 15, and elsewhere, e.g. Cic. *pro Quinct.* 26, 83; Liv. XXXIII. 41, 3.

8. propinquorum . . . adfinium: *relatives by blood and by marriage.*

9. gratiosior: *the more honored.* **orbitatis pretia**: Roman literature teems with references to this notorious practice of legacy-hunting, from Horace, *Sat.* II. 5, 28 ff., down to Amm. Marc. XIV. 6, 22, *nec credi potest qua obsequiorum diversitate coluntur homines sine liberis Romae*, Tacitus furnishing, perhaps, the most numerous passages. Cp. note *Dial.* 6, 7.

Chapter 21. Not only is property inherited in the direct line, but also feuds and friendships, the latter in turn leading naturally to the German's hospitable treatment of strangers.

10. inimicitias: *feuds*, the German *Fehde.* The Latin word in this more or less technical meaning is rare. Cp. note *Dial.* 36, 4; Lucret. V. 1146. Blood vengeance, *vendetta*, is characteristic of all primitive society. Cp. also Béowulf, 2435 ff.

11. necesse est: *is a duty*, imposed by immemorial custom. **nec** = *nec tamen.* So e.g. in Sall. *Jug.* 20, 6, and very frequently in Tacitus. **implacabiles** sc. *inimicitiae*, agreeing with only a part of the antecedent, on which usage, cp. note ch. 2, 3.

12. luitur: this compensation, known as *Wergeld*, the Homeric *ποινή*, our *damages*, was regulated in proportion to the extent of the injury, the rank of the assaulted party being also taken into consider-

ation, for the *Wergeld* of a noble was usually twice that of an ordinary freeman. Cp. note ch. 12, 23. Originally, all cases of homicide called for blood vengeance, but with the emergence from primitive conditions, in Tacitus' time, *satisfactio* or *compositio* came to be regarded as an adequate substitute, and, if agreed to by the culprit's relatives, the clan to which the murdered man belonged would be morally pledged to discontinue the feud. The motive here given for this more humane practice does not, of course, represent the actual reasoning of the Germans (cp. note ch. 7, 5), but was a natural result of a developing civilization. An explanation analogous to that of Tacitus is, however, offered by Lucretius (V. 1145 ff.) for a similar change. **armentorum ac pecorum**: combined also *Ann.* XIII. 55. On the distinction, see notes ch. 5, 16. 17.

14. utiliter in publicum sc. *hoc fit*, *a procedure of advantage to the community.* With the phrase, cp. Liv. IV. 6, 2, *utiliter in praesens certamen respondit.* As the clause is in apposition to *recipit . . . domus*, we should expect *utile*, *a benefit to*, in accordance with a well-attested Tacitean usage. Cp. e.g. *Hist.* I. 44, *omnesque . . . interfici iussit . . . munimentum ad praesens.*

15. iuxta libertatem: *in proportion to the liberty enjoyed.* For other peculiar uses of this preposition, apparently confined to Tacitus, cp. ch. 30, 8, and *Dial.* 22, 2.

16. Convictibus et hospitiis: *feasts among themselves and entertainments of strangers.* The latter are discussed first, while the two following chapters deal with the former. **effusius indulget**: *is more immoderately addicted.* Cp. *Hist.* I. 19, *effusius favere.*

17. Quemcumque mortalium, etc.: cp. Caes. *B. G.* VI. 23, 9, *hospitem violare fas non putant; qui quacumque de causa ad eos venerunt, ab iniuria prohibent sanctosque putant.* The rights of hospitality are rigidly observed among primitive peoples and in newly settled, isolated communities, the custom being primarily due to self-interest. It is doubtful, however, whether the Germans extended the same courtesy to non-Germanic peoples. The Roman attitude is best reflected in the word *hostis*, which originally stood for both *stranger* (cp. our *host*, Germ. *gast*) and *enemy.* *Mortalium*, a more emphatic term than *homines*, was first introduced into prose by Sallust.

18. pro fortuna: *according to his means.* So again, *Ann.* XIV. 21. **Cum defecere**: *when they have come to an end.* In this sense, e.g. *Ann.* XV. 44, *ubi defecisset dies.* The usual interpretation, *when*

the material for the epulae gave out, is not only incompatible with *pro fortuna*, etc., but at the same time involves a statement too absurd to be plausibly attributed to Tacitus. At a later period, *three* days were considered the limit of such hospitable entertainment.

19. monstrator: a Vergilian word, e.g. *Georg.* I. 19, thereafter not uncommon, the identical phrase, *m. hospitii*, occurring in Sen. *ad Marc.* 25, 2. The same custom is attributed to the Scythians. Cp. Eustathius on *Iliad* XIII. 6, τοὺς ὁδίτας τρέφοντες ἄλλος ἄλλῳ διαπέμπονται.

20. comes: the host felt under a moral obligation to safeguard the stranger, who, if injured, could not lay claim to *Wergeld*. For this attitude, cp. e.g. *Odyss.* XIV. 55 ff., 402 ff.

22. quantum ad = *quod adtinet ad*: cp. notes *Agr.* 33, 19; 44, 27. **Abeunti**, etc.: this is attested both in the Homeric poems (e.g. *Odyss.* IX. 267 f., 365 ff.) and in the Teutonic epics, e.g. the *Nibelungen Noth*, 1632 ff., where the departing hero requests the shield of Nudung. The numerous examples of gifts in the Béowulf are not strictly ξεινήια, but rewards for services rendered.

24. facilitas: *candor, unembarrassed frankness.* **Gaudent muneribus**: especially horses and weapons. Note emphatic position of the predicate, and cp. *Introd.* p. lxvi.

25. data . . . obligantur: *they neither charge these presents up as gifts nor do they incur a debt of obligation by accepting them.* The terms are all taken from commercial life. The same antithesis, e.g. Plin. *Paneg.* 39, 3, *obligandi imputandique materiam.*

Chapter 22. **27. e somno**, etc.: cp. ch. 15, 6 ff. In this paragraph every statement seems in studied contrast with Roman customs. See esp. note l. 28. **plerumque**: *right often.* **in diem**: *broad daylight.* The Romans were early risers, as southern people generally are.

28. lavantur: *they bathe themselves*, i.e. in cold water, as shown by the following *saepius calida*. Cp. Caes. *B. G.* IV. 1, 10, *locis frigidissimis . . . lavarentur* (sc. Suebi) *in fluminibus;* in VI. 21, 5 the same is predicated of the Germans in general. Their skill in swimming is frequently attested. Cp. note *Agr.* 18, 8; *Hist.* V. 14; Béowulf, 506 ff., 2359 ff. **saepius calida**: sc. *aqua:* this can, of course, refer only to the well-to-do. Tacitus' straining after conciseness renders it not improbable that *lavantur* is to be understood ἀπὸ κοινοῦ; of river bathing in the former case, of mere ablutions in the latter. At least, Cass. Dio. *fragm.* 94, 2, mentions it as a sign of degeneration

among the Cimbri in Italy, that λουτροῖς θερμοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πρὶν ψυχρολουσίας ἐχρῶντο, and LXII. 6, 4 (cited *Agr.* 21, 2). The Romans generally preferred the warm bath. Tacitus throughout this treatise ignores customs which Romans and Germans shared in common (cp. note ch. 6, 26); hence Caesar's statement (*l.c.*) about the promiscuous bathing of the sexes, also a common Roman practice, is not alluded to here. **plurimum**: sc. *anni: a very considerable part of the year.*

29. Lauti, etc.: the Romans took their bath after exercise, — usually a game of ball, — and before the principal meal of the day (the *cena*), although the upstart Trimalchio and his guests bathe both before and after the banquet. Cp. Petron. 28. 72 f.; and, by way of contrast, Plut. *Mar.* 19, of the Teutons at Aquae Sextiae, ἔτυχον ἀριστῶντες οἱ πολλοὶ μετὰ λουτρόν, οἱ δ' ἐλούοντο. Down to the close of the Middle Ages, the Germans, as a rule, partook only of two meals, one in the forenoon and one in the afternoon. **separatae singulis sedes**: the Romans reclined on the *triclinium*, but in earlier times, if Vergil can be relied upon, they also sat at long tables. Cp. *Aen.* VII. 176, *perpetuis soliti patres considere mensis.* Tables are repeatedly mentioned in Homer (e.g. *Iliad* IX. 216; *Odyss.* XVII. 333), and are attributed to the Celts by *Posidonius* (Athen. IV. p. 151 e). In the Béowulf, however, the feasters sit on long benches and are compelled to hold their cups in their hands, which implies the absence of tables and separate seats for each. *Tisch*, the German word for *table*, like Eng. *dish*, is derived from the Latin *discus*, and may originally have denoted a tray, but cp. Lat. *orbis*, *a round table* (Mart. II. 43; Juv. I. 137).

31. armati: observe the emphatic position, and cp. ch. 11, 10; 13, 31. This was prohibited in Rome as early as the laws of the Twelve Tables. **Diem noctemque continuare**, etc.: a bold expression in place of *potationem die nocteque continuare*, for *diem*, etc., cannot be the accusative of time, a usage unknown to Tacitus. Cp. Plin. *N. H.* XIV. 22, 28, 145, *biduo duabusque noctibus perpotationem continuasset* (sc. L. Piso). As here, *Ann.* XIV. 20; XVI. 5. The Germanic love of drink is often referred to by the ancients, e.g. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 79, *largis epulis vinoque sopitos Germanos;* Amm. Marc. XVIII. 2, 13, *epulis ad usque vigiliam gentili more extentis.* Cp. also Xen. *Cyrop.* VIII. 8, 8, πίνοντες διάγουσιν (sc. οἱ Πέρσαι) ἔσπερ οἱ ὀψιαίτατα κοιμώμενοι. Translate: *to spend all day and night in drinking.*

32. nulli probrum: the Romans, on the other hand, looked with disfavor upon carousals before twilight, excessive drinking being comparatively rare among them, as it is generally among southern people.

ut: *as might be expected, as will happen.* On this usage of *ut*, cp. notes ch. 2, 8 and *Agr.* ch. 11, 1.

Page 44. **1. vinolentos**: *intoxicated.* In the same general sense, for the German beverage was beer (see below), e.g. *Ann.* XI. 16, *saepius vinolentiam ac libidines* (drunkenness and excesses) *grata barbaris* (sc. Cheruscis); *Hist.* IV. 79 (cited above, l. 31); and ch. 23, 13. **rixae**: an ordinary quarrel that comes to blows. Cp. note *Dial.* 26, 5. **conviciis**: *vituperative abuse.* This was considered unmanly. Cp. *Nibelungen Noth*, 2282, *nor doth it beseem heroic lips to scold like old women.* Haughty speeches in challenging to combat were, however, in favor, e.g. Béowulf, 499 ff. **caede et vulneribus**: a frequent collocation in Tacitus, e.g. *Hist.* III. 26; IV. 20; *Ann.* XII. 35. **saepius**: *right often*, as in ch. 17, 14; 22, 28.

2. transiguntur: *are settled.* The statement of the author is confirmed by later testimony. Thus the *lex Salica* (5th century) takes cognizance of cases *si quis in convivio fuerit interfectus*, and Donizzo's *vita Mathildis* II. 5, 550 ff. (= *Monum. Germ.* XII. p. 390), written in 1140, contains some lines which seem like an echo of this very passage, although it is unlikely that a MS. of the *Germania* existed in Italy at that early date: *qui* (Alemanni) *peramant Bacchum . . . faciles rixas cum sunt potati pro verbis, fertur, amaris Ensem denudant, sociorum viscera truncant.* **et** = *even.* **de reconciliandis . . . inimicis**: probably in reference to the *satisfactio* spoken of in ch. 21, 10 ff. **invicem**: a post-Augustan equivalent for *inter se*, occurring more than twenty times in Tacitus, e.g. ch. 37, 8; but in the classical, adversative sense, it is found only ch. 18, 27; 21, 24.

3. iungendis adfinitatibus: *contraction of marriage alliances.* Cp. ch. 18, 21. We should expect *adfinibus*, to balance *inimicis* and *principibus*, but the concrete noun would have been ambiguous here. **adsciscendis principibus**: this probably refers more particularly to the formation of the *comitatus*, on which see ch. 13 f., for the would-be *comites* were free to select their *princeps*, but alliances with neighboring chieftains, alluded to ch. 13, 16, may also have been arranged at these meetings.

4. de pace . . . consultant: the same is related of the Scythians and Persians. Cp. Curt. VII. 4, 1, 15; Tac. *Hist.* IV. 14; *Ann.* I. 55; and in general, Herod. I. 133, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐώθασι (sc. οἱ Σκύθαι) βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιότατα τῶν πρηγμάτων; Strabo, XV. 3, 20. **plerumque**: *generally.*

5. tamquam = ὡς, *in the conviction that.* Cp. note *Agr.* 15, 19. **simplicis**: *open-hearted, ingenuous.* So e.g. *Hist.* I. 15; III. 86; *Ann.* I. 69.

6. animus: on the position, cp. *Introd.* p. lxvi.

7. astuta: *cunning*, by nature. **callida**: *crafty*, through experience. The same character is attributed to the Gauls by Strabo, IV. 4, 2. Caes. *B. G.* 13, 4, accuses the Tencteri of *perfidia* and *simulatio*, and Vell. Pat. II. 118, styles the Germans *versutissimi natumque mendacio genus;* but, as in the case of the proverbial *Punica fides*, the Romans never scrupled to accuse their enemies of perfidy, whether justified or not. **adhuc**: *in addition*, ἐπὶ τούτοις. Cp. note ch. 10, 15. This is in contrast with the Roman caution, necessitated by the ever-present informers. Cp. *Agr.* 2, 8 f. **secreta pectoris**: *their innermost secrets.*

8. licentia loci: *amid the freedom granted by the occasion*, namely, the *convivia.* On a similar genitive, cp. ch. 2, 8.

9. retractatur: sc. *res: the matter is reconsidered.* **salva . . . ratio**: *due weight is given to both periods*, i.e. when drunk and sober.

10. deliberant . . . possunt: a purely rhetorical statement, carefully balanced and added to give the usual epigrammatic close. The same custom is attributed to the Scythians and Persians. Cp. Eustathius *ad Odyss.* III. 138, Σκύθαι . . . ὅσα κατὰ πότον βουλεύονται, κυροῦσιν ἕωθεν νήφοντες, and the scholiast to *Iliad* IX. 70, μεθύοντες συμβουλεύονται, νήφοντες δ' ἐπικρίνουσιν. This passage is humorously parodied in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, 6, 17.

Chapter 23. **12. umor**, etc.: *a liquid made of barley or some other cereal*, i.e. *beer. Cervisia*, itself a Latin loan word, occurs in pre-Taciteau writers only in Pliny, and was presumably known to but a few. Besides, Tacitus habitually paraphrases or avoids technical terms. — The etymology of *beer* is quite problematical, but the word is probably Teutonic. **hordeo**: *barley.* A similar beverage is mentioned among many ancient peoples, and called by the Greeks οἶνος κρίθινος (e.g. Xen. *Anab.* IV. 5, 26) or βρῦτος (e.g. Archil. *fragm.* 32; Soph. *Tript. fragm.* 549). Cp. also the epigram of the Emperor Julian, *Child of the bearded barley, wilt thou call thyself Dionysus* (i.e. vinum)? **frumento** sc. *alio.* On this ellipsis, cp. note ch. 19, 14, and on the omission of *mixtus, compositus*, see note *Dial.* 34, 10. *Frumentum, cereal*, is usually understood to refer to *wheat, triticum*, but there is no

evidence that this was grown in Germany until much later times. Cp. ch. 45, 10. **in quandam . . . corruptus** : *fermented into something resembling wine.* On this general signification, like *infectus* (note ch. 4, 5), see e.g. Stat. *Achil.* I. 308, *ebur conrumpitur ostro.* Amm. Marcellinus, a frequent imitator of Tacitus, seems to have had this very passage before his eyes in XXVI. 8, 2, *sabaia ex hordeo vel frumento in liquorem conversis;* XV. 12, 4, *ad vini similitudinem multiplices potus.*

13. ripae : more particularly the Rhine, although the Danube may be included, but see note ch. 17, 9. According to Caes. *B. G.* II. 15, 4 ; IV. 2, 6, the Nervii and Suebi prohibited the introduction of wine on the ground of its enervating influence, but from *Posidonius* (apud Diod. V, 26), it has been plausibly inferred that this was done to prevent Italian traders from securing slaves in exchange for wines, as they did among the Gauls, a race also said to have been excessively addicted to this beverage.

14. agrestia poma : *apples of the fields,* as distinguished from those grown in orchards, which were unknown to the Germans. Cp. ch. 26, 19. **recens fera** : *fresh game.* This is frequently attested, e.g. *Posidonius* (?) apud Diod. *fragm.* 94, 2, κρέα πρότερον ὠμὰ σιτούμενοι ; and Mela, III. 3, 28, *victu ita asperi incultique ut cruda etiam carne vescantur aut recenti.* It was in striking contrast with the custom of the Romans, who preferred *haut goût* in their game.

15. aut lac concretum : *curdled milk,* not cheese, which, though mentioned by Caes. *B. G.* IV. 1, 8, is expressly noted by Plin. *N. H.* XI. 41, 96, 239, as unknown among barbarian races : *mirum barbaras gentes quae lacte vivant ignorare aut spernere tot saeculis caesi dotem.* — The statement is not balanced asyndetically, because, unlike the preceding, this food called for some special preparation. Cp. also note ch. 46, 14. **sine adparatu** : *without style,* more accurately defined by the following phrase. **sine blandimentis** : *without appetizers.* The entire passage bears a slight resemblance to Sall. *Jug.* 89, 7, *Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur et neque salem neque alia inritamenta gulae quaerebant.*

16. Adversus : *as regards.* So ch. 46, 22, and frequently in the larger works of Tacitus, but rarely in earlier writers, e.g. Cic. *ad fam.* III. 13, 8. For the fact, cp. note ch. 22, 32.

17. [Si indulseris . . . vincentur] : this passage, which is open to serious objections, both internal and external, is a marginal note which accidentally intruded into the text. See Critical Appendix.

Chapter 24. **19. spectaculorum unum . . . idem**: in glaring contrast with the multiplicity and variety of Roman shows, the Germans had but one public game, and even that admitted of no variety. — *unum atque idem*, a frequent combination, like our *one and the same*, is here separated, partly to emphasize *idem*, partly to avoid a commonplace collocation. **in omni coetu**: *at every festal* (or *public*) *gathering*, forming the transition from the preceding chapters, which dealt with *convivia*. The following condensed paragraph is the *locus classicus* on the famous German *sword dance* (for the *spear* was subsequently abandoned), which, with slight modifications, survived in Hesse till the 17th century.

20. Nudi: here again, as in ch. 20, 24, to be taken literally, the evidence to the contrary belonging to a later period. **quibus** sc. *iuvenibus*. On this agreement with a part of the antecedent, cp. note ch. 2, 3. **ludicrum est**: *engage in this sport*. In the sense of *ludus*, the word is used first in Catull. lxi. 24; thereafter it is quite common in both poetry and prose, but especially so in Tacitus.

21. infestas: *threatening*, because pointed at the dancers. The term is a standing epithet of a weapon. Cp. e.g. Caes. *B. C.* III. 93, 1; Verg. *Aen.* V. 582; Liv. II. 20, 3; and Tac. *Hist.* I, 31; III. 85. **saltu iaciunt**: a poetic expression for *saltant*. Cp. Lucret. V. 559, *saltu pernici tollere corpus*, and esp. Verg. VIII. 257, *iecit saltu;* XII. 287.

22. artem: *skill*. **paravit**: a true perfect, expressing, as often, an established custom. **decorem**: *gracefulness*. With the phraseological climax, cp. e.g. *Dial.* 33, 8; *Hist.* IV. 74. **non in quaestum tamen**: sc. *id ludicrum illi iuvenes exercent*. At Rome performers exhibited their skill for a remuneration; but the motive here assigned is, as usual, fanciful (cp. ch. 7, 5), for this dance was doubtless originally an integral part of a religious ceremony, probably in honor of the war god. — The final use of *in* is more common in Tacitus than in any other previous writer.

23. quamvis audacis, etc.: *with all its daring, reckless though it was*. An instance of a dancer being transfixed by a sword is recorded from a Hessian town near Fulda as late as 1571. This use of *quamvis* with an adjective is especially frequent in Tacitus. **lasciviae**: the word is used in a good sense, as always in Cicero, but in Tacitus only here and *Hist.* II. 68; *Ann.* XI. 31. **pretium** = *praemium*. So very often.

24. Aleam, etc.: here to be taken, as *iactu* below shows, in the

restricted sense of the game of *dice*, though generally used in Latin of any game of chance. During the Republic, it was repeatedly prohibited by special enactments, a law of Sulla being probably the earliest, for the *lex alearia* mentioned in Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* II. 2, 9 (vs. 164) seems to refer rather to the *rules* of the game. During the Empire gambling flourished to an extraordinary degree, many emperors being passionately addicted to it. All gaming was finally forbidden by Justinian. The contrast here emphasized is, therefore, that the Germans, unlike the Romans (cp. Suet. *Octav.* 71, *Domit.* 21), played dice *inter seria*, even when *sobrii*, and that they went so far as to give up their liberty in payment of a gambling debt. **inter seria** = *ut serium*. So very frequently. Cp. e.g. ch. 30, 1; *Hist.* IV. 61, *inter dona* (= ut unum ex donis); *Ann.* XIII. 23, *inter iudices* (= ut iudex).

25. tanta . . . temeritate: *with such foolhardy indifference, whether they won or lost.* The idea expressed by *ludendi* is resolved into its two component parts for the purpose of securing for the following statement a more definite antecedent, viz. *perdendi temeritas.*

26. defecerunt: i.e. when they had staked all their possessions. **extremo ac novissimo iactu**: *the last and decisive throw.* The phrase is only apparently tautological, *extremo* expressing the last chance absolutely, *novissimo* the last that presented itself on this occasion. Cp. Cic. *de div.* II. 43, 91; Caes. *B. C.* I. 5, 3, *extremum atque ultimum.* **de libertate ac de corpore contendant**: *they stake their freedom, that is to say, their very person*, the second phrase being added epexegetically in order to define *de libertate* more closely. The usual interpretation, *de libertate corporis*, is rendered impossible by the repetition of the preposition.

27. Victus: *the loser.* Observe the alliterative collocation of *v* and *p* (below). **voluntariam**: for, as in modern communities, gambling debts could not be legally exacted.

28. iuvenior sc. *victore.* This post-Augustan comparative (e.g. Sen. Rhet. *Contr.* VII. *praef.* 4; X. 2, 31; Sen. *Epist.* 26, 7; Plin. *N. H.* X. 29, 43, 83, thereafter frequent) was probably here used for *iunior*, to prevent *robustior* from being taken in its usual sense of *adult, mature.* **Quamvis**: with a comparative, occurs in Tacitus again *Ann.* III. 52, *quamvis graviora.* Translate: *be he never so young, never so strong.* **adligari** = *ligari.* Prepositional compounds with the meaning of the simple verb are especially characteristic of post-Augustan Latin. Cp. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 26, τὸ δὲ δῆσαι Λατῖνοι πάλαι μὲν λιγᾶρε, νῦν δὲ ἀλλιγᾶρε καλοῦσιν; Sen. *Epist.* 58, 3, *cernere* . . .

dicebant . . . quod nunc decernere dicimus, simplicis illius verbi usus amissus est. The word is used of slaves also, *Dial.* 13, 10, and Colum. *de re rust.* I. 9, but apparently not elsewhere.

29. vēnire : *to be sold.* **in re prava** : *in a vicious proceeding.* **pervicacia** : *stubbornness, obstinacy.*

30. fidem : *honor.* This Tacitus regarded as an abuse of the term in a *res prava.* **condicionis** : *class, kind.* **per conmercia tradunt** : *they dispose of through the medium of trade*, i.e. by exchanging these slaves for desirable commodities. The Germanic slave trade mentioned by Caes. *B. G.* IV. 2, 1 pertains only to prisoners of war.

31. se quoque, etc. : this is a fanciful explanation of Tacitus, prompted, as usual, by the desire to give a rhetorical or epigrammatic close to a chapter. In consequence, he has involved himself in incongruities ; for, as *fidem* shows, the loser's voluntary servitude would not have been considered a disgrace, while the winner's action cannot well have been due to a feeling of shame, but he probably had reason to fear trouble on the part of the unfortunate gambler's relatives, in case he retained the man as a slave in his own household. Again, although *pudor*, as indicated by *quoque*, is predicated of both loser and winner, its attributive genitive (*victoriae*) is applicable only to the latter. **pudore . . . exsolvant** : the identical expression occurs in Tacitus again, *Hist.* III. 61 ; *Ann.* VI. 44.

Chapter 25. The discussion of a peculiar instance of voluntary servitude naturally leads the author to describe the life of the slave proper. Tacitus' knowledge on the subjects dealt with in this and the following chapter was vague and confused and, as he had Roman conditions constantly before his eyes, his statements do not accurately represent the real condition of affairs. But to attempt to reconcile the author with our equally vague information, as has so often been done, is an idle and useless task.

32. Ceterum : *speaking generally*, slaves, etc.; here a resumptive particle. Cp. note ch. 2, 11. **servis** : as a slave could not hold property, and, as he is here compared with a Roman *colonus*, Tacitus or his sources seem to have confused the serf proper (for it is to him that the words *verberare . . . impune est* apply) with the so-called *Liti*, *Hörige*, *villains*, known to us from later times. The serf seems not to have belonged to the same tribe as his master, except in such instances as were mentioned in ch. 24, if, indeed, he was not generally

non-Germanic, their number being recruited from prisoners of war. Cp. Sen. *Epist.* 47, 10, *alium ex illis (sc. captis Romanis) pastorem, alium custodem casae fecit* (after the defeat of Varus). **descriptis . . . ministeriis**: thus a large Roman slave household was divided into a *familia urbana* and *rustica*, and these, in turn, subdivided into *ordinarii* and *vulgares*, *soluti* and *vincti*, each of whom had his special duties. Cp. esp. Petron. 30, *unus ex pueris qui super hoc officium erat positus*; 47, *ex quota decuria es? . . . te iubebo in decuriam viatorum conici*; 68, *puer Alexandrinus, qui caldam ministrabat.*

Page 45. 1. **sedem . . . penates**: *house and home*; *penates*, being applied to slaves, is here deprived of its original solemnity. Cp. ch. 15, 8. The condition of these dependent village communities is doubtless idealized.

2. **Frumenti**: *grain*, as in ch. 23, 12. These taxes were a kind of substitute for rent, and are still met with in later times.

3. **vestis**: *cloth*, which was woven on the premises. **ut colono**: our detailed knowledge concerning the status of the Roman *colonus* begins with the 4th century A.D. At this period, and later, he presents many points of analogy with the conditions here described. Cp. esp. *Cod. Justin.* XI. 51, *licet condicione videantur ingenui, servi tamen terrae ipsius cui nati sunt existimentur.* In the time of Tacitus, however, he was a *free* lessee of property under a *contract*, the rent being paid in kind. The term *servus* is, therefore, misapplied. See following note. **hactenus paret** sc. *domino*. This is again at variance with later conditions, for the German serf had no legal rights, but was considered as a mere chattel, which passed on with the sale of the property. For *hactenus* in its strictly local sense, see ch. 35, 1.

4. **cetera domus officia**: the cooking, baking, brewing, etc., as distinguished from the labors in the field just mentioned. On this idiomatic use of *cetera* (for the *agrorum officia* were not part of the *domus officia*), cp. e.g. *Hist.* III. 12; IV. 56; *Ann.* III. 42; Liv. VII. 8, 1. So very frequently in Greek, e.g. Hom. *Odyss.* II. 412, μήτηρ . . . οὐδ᾽ ἄλλαι δμωαί, and note ch. 10, 15. **liberi** sc. *servorum*, perhaps corresponding to ch. 15, 8, *infirmissimo cuique ex familia*; but Tacitus probably wrote *liberti*. See Critical Appendix.

5. **Verberare servum . . . rarum**: in contrast with the cruel punishment inflicted on Roman slaves, often on the slightest occasion. Cp. e.g. Horat. *Sat.* I. 3, 119; Petron. 30, 49; Juv. VI. 478–485 and esp. the plays of Plautus. **vinculis**: e.g. Plaut. *Most.* 19, *augebis*

ruri numerum, genus ferratile. **opere**: e.g. in the *ergastulum*, the *pistrinum* or *molae trusatiles* (tread-mills), or in quarries, the most dreaded punishment of all. The three modes here mentioned are enumerated in Plaut. *Menaech.* V. 6, 9 (vs. 974) *verbera, compedes, molae.*

6. **non disciplina et severitate**: *not for the purpose of strict discipline.* Hendiadys, as shown by *Dial.* 29, 28; *Hist.* I. 51, *severitate disciplinae.* The collocation occurs repeatedly, cp. note *Dial.* 28, 17. It is here used to balance *impetu et ira* = *impetu irae, in an outburst of rage.* This latter was, however, given as the motive for the murder of a slave on the part of a nobleman of the tribe of the Heruli, in the 5th century, recorded by Agathias, II. 7. **impetu et ira**: the choleric temperament of the Germans is repeatedly remarked upon by the ancients, e.g. Vell. Pat. II. 118, Mela, III. 3, 26, *inmanes sunt animis.*

7. **nisi quod impune est**: i.e. in case he killed his own slave; if not his own, he had to make restitution, the value, according to the Salic Law, being that of a horse or ox. **Liberti**, etc.: according to ancient German documents, the *liti* could acquire property and could claim *Wergeld* which was, however, lower than that of the free-born or *ingenui.* But complete manumission, which was a public ceremony, seems in later times not to have been granted except among the Lombards, Franks, and Scandinavians.

8. **momentum**: sc. *sunt*: ῥοπή, *account, influence.* In Tacitus, of persons only here and *Hist.* I. 59; and, with the exception of this passage, combined with *grande*, once with *magnum.* The figure is taken from the scale, and of common occurrence in English. Cp. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 'Matters of great pith and moment.'

9. **numquam in civitate**: contrasted with conditions at Rome, where *liberti*, especially under Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, were frequently the real power behind the throne. Cp. note *Dial.* 7, 7; *Hist.* I. 76; *Ann.* XII. 54; Sen. *de tranq.* 8, 1. **dumtaxat**: *only.* The word does not occur elsewhere in Tacitus.

10. **regnantur**: βασιλεύονται, *are ruled by kings.* Genuine kingly rule was rare among the Germans and confined to the less important tribes. Cp. ch. 44, 7; 45, 30; *Ann.* XIII. 54, *in quantum Germani regnantur.* The kings of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* (ch. 42, 7) constitute only an apparent exception, as they ruled on Roman sufferance, cp. notes ch. 7, 29; 10, 20. The passive use of the verb is Vergilian, e.g. *Aen.* III. 14, but frequent later. **Ibi**, etc.: this statement in its generalization is very questionable and probably again due to some extent to the desire for a rhetorical close. **et . . . et** = *non solum*

. . . *sed etiam*, as often when correlative ; hence also the repetition of the preposition. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii.

11. ceteros: i.e. *Germanos qui non regnantur.* We should expect *ceteras*, sc. *gentes*, and perhaps Tacitus wrote thus. **impares libertini** : *the inferiority of the freemen.* The adjective *impares* is used for the abstract noun (which does not exist in Latin) and a genitive. This construction, though especially frequent in Tacitus, is used by him preferably with participles and pronominal adjectives. The original distinction between *libertus*, the freedman in relation to the manumitter, and *libertinus*, in his relation to his social or political status, is no longer rigidly observed in post-Augustan Latin, and would in any case be inapplicable to Germanic conditions. With the statement itself, cp. *Ann.* XIV. 39.

Chapter 26. **13. Faenus**: here used in the rare sense of *sors*, *capital*, not *interest*. So Plaut. *Most.* III. 1, 101 (vs. 629); Cic. *ad Att.* VI. 1, 4, and in four other passages of Tacitus, viz. *Hist.* I. 20; *Ann.* VI. 17; XIV. 53, 55. **agitare** = *exercere*, *manage*, *handle*. Cp. *Ann.* VI. 16, *faenore . . . exerceret . . . antea . . . agitaretur;* IV. 6, *frumenta et pecuniae vectigales . . . agitabantur;* and our expression 'to drive a bargain.' **in usuras extendere** sc. *faenus*. Cp. *Ann.* VI. 16, *pecunias faenore auctitabant.* The statement is somewhat inconsistent with ch. 5, 23 ff., which seems to preclude the possibility of systematic money transactions. Cp. what is said even of the savage Fenni in ch. 46, 21.

14. magis servatur, etc.: i.e. this ignorance of usury is better maintained than if its practice had been forbidden. The Germans, being unacquainted with *faenus agitare*, etc., were thus not even tempted to introduce it. The usual interpretation of this, in any case strained, epigram, which supplies *faenus non agitare*, etc., as subject of *servatur* and the positive again with *vetitum esset*, involves an exceedingly harsh ellipsis, unparalleled even in Tacitus. He frequently allows the positive idea to be supplied out of a previous negative expression, but never the reverse. Cp. note *Dial.* 34, 10. **vetitum esset**: as was frequently done in Rome, e.g. by the *lex Genucia*, in 342 B.C. For a detailed account of the legislation in regard to the legal rates of interest, see *Ann.* VI. 16. For a somewhat similar epigrammatic antithesis, cp. Justin. II. 2 (cited note ch. 46, 23). **Agri**, etc.: this passage, owing to the studied conciseness of the author, a corruption in the MSS. (*in vices*), and certain discrepancies

with Caes. *B. G.* IV. 1, 7, VI. 22, 2 ff., the only other extant treatment of the subject, is perhaps the most unsatisfactory in the entire *Germania*. Nor can the trustworthiness of the account be determined, as there is an interval of more than a century between Caesar and Tacitus. On the other hand, the earliest post-Tacitean documents on German land tenure are as late as the 5th century, and they relate to agricultural communities with permanent abodes, whereas the Germans of Tacitus' time had not yet altogether emerged from their primitive nomadic state; but the changes in land tenure incident to that evolution must have been many and significant. What the author meant to say, will nevertheless be found tolerably clear, if we emancipate ourselves from the misleading information of a relatively modern date. **pro numero cultorum**: the migrating, conquering tribes occupied only so much of the acquired extensive domains as could be tilled or utilized; subsequently, definite allotments were parcelled out in accordance with the rank of the several occupants. This phrase, of course, implies a previous scale of distribution, which served as a criterion.

16. secundum dignationem: i.e. *principes*, *nobiles*, *ingenui*, *libertini*. Cp. ch. 44, 23. **partiuntur** sc. *universi*, *the community*.

17. Arva: soil under tillage, as opposed to *ager*, the as yet uncultivated field. **per annos mutant** sc. *cultores*. Cp. Caes. *B. G.* IV. 1, 7, *privati ac separati agri apud eos* (sc. Suebos) *nihil est neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet;* VI. 22, 2, *magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus . . . quantum et quo loco visum est agri adtribuunt atque anno post alio transire cogunt.* The six sociological or political reasons for this, enumerated by Caesar, are strangely ignored by Tacitus. They would have admirably subserved his idealizing tendency, for, as the following shows, he was not convinced that this change from tilled to fallow lands was made to relieve the soil before exhaustion. The agricultural principle of the rotation of crops seems, in fact, to belong to a higher civilization. *Per annos*, *annually*. So e.g. *Ann.* I. 8.

18. et superest ager: the occupied territory was too large for the *numerus cultorum*. **Nec enim**: with the usual ellipsis. They change so often, since they do not utilize the potential richness and the area of the soil to its utmost capacity, by planting orchards, etc., which, though requiring considerably more time, would, on the other hand, yield more satisfactory and better developed products.

19. labore contendunt: *they do not by hard labor vie with*, i.e. their labor is not commensurate with the vastness and fertility of the arable land. The same phrase occurs in Colum. *de re rust.* III. 1. **ut** = *ita ut.* In Tacitus again, *Dial.* 33, 7; *Ann.* IV. 38; and comparatively rare elsewhere. **pomaria**: *orchards*, such as abounded in Italy. Cp. Varro, *de re rust.* I. 2, 6, *non arboribus consita Italia ut tota pomarium videatur?* That this and the following practices belong to a more developed state of agriculture is pointed out by Lucret. V. 1361–1378.

20. prata separent: *mark off meadows*, i.e. from the pasture lands. Cp. Colum. II. 17, *necessarius aratori cultus est etiam prati cui veteres Romani primas in agricolatione tribuerant.* **hortos rigent**: the statement is confirmed by the observation that very many German names for garden products are borrowed. The simple verb for *inrigare* is poetic, and, with very few exceptions, e.g. Liv. I. 21, 3, confined in prose to post-Augustan authors. **sola . . . imperatur**: *a corn crop is all that is demanded of the soil*, like a draft that has come due. The same mercantile figure is found, e.g., in Cic. *de sen.* 15, 51. Cp. also Verg. *Georg.* I. 99, *exercetque . . . tellurem et imperat arvis;* Sen. *de tranq.* 17, 5.

21. Unde: with special reference to *pomaria*, whose fruit (and the same is true of vineyards) would not ripen till autumn. Orchards were practically unknown in Germany till the 3d century. **annum quoque ipsum**: with the collocation, cp. *Agr.* 2, 9.

22. totidem: *atque nos* (Romani). **hiems et ver et aestas**: the original division of the year among all Indo-Europeans was into winter and summer, spring (*ἔαρ, ver*) being a comparatively late addition. Three seasons (*χειμών, ἔαρ, θέρος*) are recognized in Homer and implied in a passage of Soph. *Oed. Rex* 1135. With the development from a nomadic and pastoral to an agricultural state, a word for *autumn*, namely, *Herbst*, connected with a root meaning *to cut* (*carpere*), or with *καρπός*, *fruit*, was introduced. Our own word *autumn*, it is significant to note, is the only foreign term in the designation of the seasons, for *fall* does not occur till the sixteenth century and has now become an Americanism, although once used by the best English writers. The year began with the winter, which is hence mentioned first. **intellectum**: *meaning*.

23. vocabula: *names*, viz. *Winter*, *Lenz*, for which *Frühling* is now more usual, and *Sommer*.

24. bona: the ignoring of autumnal beauty characterizes all Ger-

manic literature of the Middle Ages, in significant contrast with its extravagant praises of spring.

Chapter 27. The account of Germanic funeral customs appropriately closes the ethnological portions of the treatise.

25. ambitio: *display.* Funerals in Rome were, on the contrary, conducted on so lavish a scale that laws were repeatedly enacted against the abuse. For the meaning of the word, cp. e.g. *Agr.* 29, 23; *Hist.* IV. 40; *Ann.* IV. 62; and Sen. *de brev. vit.* 20, 4.

26. certis lignis: such as the pine, beech, and oak. These customs are abundantly illustrated by the Béowulf. Cp. e.g. vs. 3110, *Bade he then order . . . that they the fire-wood Should bring from afar.* **crementur**: burial seems to antedate the burning of bodies. In the bronze age, the latter seems to have been the rule; thereafter we find both modes of disposing of the dead existing side by side. Unless we suppose that Tacitus is here speaking only of *clari viri*, he would imply that cremation alone was practised by the Germans, and this seems, indeed, confirmed by passages of the Béowulf and the numerous charred remains that have been discovered, although unburned skeletons have also occasionally turned up in old graves. Cremation was finally absolutely prohibited under Charles the Great.

27. Struem rogi, etc.: *pyre structure; rogi* is a noteworthy example of the epexegetical genitive. **nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant**: as was frequently done in Rome. Cp. the account of the burial of Germanicus in *Ann.* III. 2, *vestem odores aliaque funerum sollemnia cremabant.* **sua cuique arma**: this is confirmed e.g. by Béowulf 3137, *For him then prepared the folk . . . A funeral pyre . . . Hung with helmets, with shields of war*, and it is attested as late as the eleventh century by Adam of Bremen, IV. 31, *tumulant cum eo armaque;* but that this custom was not exclusively Germanic is shown by Verg. *Aen.* VI. 233, *imponit sua arma viro.* On the ellipsis of *sed*, cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii.

28. quorundam sc. *nobiliorum.* **equus adicitur**: so e.g. in the case of *Baldr* (in the *Edda*) and of *Egill.* The Gothic king *Alaric* was buried full armed, together with his steed, and a horse's head was found at Tournay, in 1653, in the grave of King Childerich. **Sepulcrum caespes erigit**: a bold figure, also used by Sen. *Epist.* 8, 5, *hanc domum . . . caespes erexerit.* Cp. also ch. 46, 8; *Hist.* V. 6, *praecipuum montium Libanum erigit* (sc. Iudaea); *Agr.* 12, 2.

29. monumentorum arduum et operosum: hypallage for *m.*

arduorum et operosorum, to avoid the assonance or ὁμοιόπτωτον. Tacitus may have had in mind such tombs as the mausoleum of Augustus and the pyramid of Cestius. Cp. Seneca (cited l. 25). The statement is not borne out by the Béowulf, e.g. vs. 2802, *Bid ye the war-famed a mound to make Which shall . . . raise itself high*; 3096, *Make on The place of the pyre the lofty mound Mickle and mighty*.

30. ut gravem, etc.: this sentimental conception is characteristic of the Greeks and Romans; cp. Lucret. III. 892; Prop. I. 17, 24; Juv. VII. 207; Eurip. *Alc.* 463 f. and the common wish in sepulchral inscriptions, *sit tibi terra levis*. By attributing similar reflections to the Germans T. avoids a matter-of-fact explanation for the absence of lofty tombstones among them, thus satisfying his tendency to idealize their conduct. **Lamenta ac lacrimas**: *wailing and weeping*. On this peculiar fondness of Latin for these and similar alliterative groups, see note ch. 10, 16. On the frequent collocation of terms of mourning, the specific being here, as so often in Tacitus, added to the more general, cp. *Agr.* 29, 23; *Ann.* XIV. 31, *fletu et lacrimis*, and *Introd.* p. lxviii. As *lacrimas* does not bear the same relation to *lamenta* that *tristitiam* does to *dolorem*, though the pairs are balanced, the conjunction varies. So e.g. *Dial.* 24, 24; *Ann.* III. 26; IV. 1.

31. cito . . . tarde: in antithesis also *Agr.* 12, 5. **ponunt** = *deponunt*, is extremely frequent, and particularly so in Tacitus; cp. also Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* III. 28, 66, *ad ponendum dolorem*. **Feminis . . . meminisse**: an effective epigram at the close of the first part of the treatise and formulated for purely rhetorical reasons, for the sentiment is again quite Roman. Cp. note *Agr.* 46, 12, and Sen. *Epist.* 99, 24, *effusissime flere, meminisse parcissime inhumani animi est . . . meminisse perseveret* (sc. *prudentem virum*), *lugere desinat*; but something of a kindred feeling seems to be implied in Béowulf 3148 ff., *Sad in their minds With sorrow they mourned. Also a sad song uttered the spouse . . . she wept*.

Page 46. **1. in conmune**: a post-Augustan equivalent for *in universum*, quite common in Tacitus. **origine**: ch. 1–3.

2. moribus: ch. 4, 4–27, 32. **accepimus**: in Tacitus always used of literary tradition or information at second hand. Cp. esp. *Ann.* I. 8, *qui ipsi viderant quique a parentibus acceperant*. **gentium . . . nationes**: *tribes*, the terms being here used as synonyms. Cp. note ch. 2, 14. **instituta ritusque**: *customs and religious rites*, the

latter being included in the former, but added epexegetically. Cp. *Hist.* V. 5; *Ann.* XVI. 28; and *Introd.* p. lxviii.

3. quatenus: *in so far as.* The word is used in its original local meaning in ch. 42, 5, but elsewhere in Tacitus in the sense of *quoniam.*

4. Gallias: i.e. *Gallia superior* and *inferior.* **expediam**: *narrabo.* A poetic word, found in this sense as early as Ter. *Eun.* IV. 4, 27 (vs. 694), frequently in Vergil, and in prose first in Sall. *Jug.* 5, 3. In Tacitus again, e.g. *Ann.* IV. 1, *nunc originem, mores . . . expediam.*

Chapter 28. **5. Validiores . . . res**: sc. *quam Germanorum.* **summus auctorum**: *most trustworthy of writers.* This laudatory reference to Caesar's Gallic War is in significant contrast with the ill-humored disparagement of Asinius Pollio. Cp. Suet. *Iul.* 56, *parum diligenter parumque integra veritate compositos putat.* It is the only passage in the *Germania* in which Tacitus mentions one of his sources by name, and proves incidentally that such discrepancies as exist are not due, as has been maintained, to a desire to contradict Cæsar, but are simply the result of the more authentic knowledge acquired since his time. The allusion is to *B. G.* VI. 24, 1, *fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent.* Cp. also *Agr.* 11, 16.

7. Gallos in Germaniam transgressos: modern ethnology inclines to the opinion that a counter migration of Celts never occurred. Hence these Galli, on the right bank of the Rhine, must be regarded as the remnants of the original wandering tribes who did not cross the river. **quantulum**, etc.: *how small an obstacle did a stream offer,* etc. In this sense, the word occurs repeatedly in Tacitus. It is here an adverbial accusative.

9. permutaret: *interchange,* as ch. 5, 29; but the force of the preposition was no longer strongly felt. Cp. *Hist.* IV. 11, *domos hortosque permutans,* and note ch. 24, 28. **promiscuas adhuc**: *still common property, open to all.* Cp. esp. *Hist.* IV. 63, *si promiscua ea sedes omnibus Germanis foret,* and ch. 44, 20. On the medial position of *adhuc,* see *Introd.* p. lxvi. **et nulla . . . divisa**: added to define *sedes promiscuas* more closely. See *Introd.* p. lxviii. On *et nulla* = *neque ulla,* cp. note ch. 10, 18.

10. regnorum must here be understood in the more general sense of *established governments,* for none of the tribes that dwelt near the Rhine were, even in Tacitus' time, ruled by kings. **potentia**: *authority.* **Igitur**: *accordingly;* resumptive after a digression, as

often, e.g. *Dial.* 3, 20; *Agr.* 36, 5. **Hĕrcȳniam silvam**: the most famous of the huge forests of Germany, mentioned as early as Aristotle (*Meteor.* I. 14, p. 350, b. 5; *περὶ θαυμ.* 105, p. 839, b. 9) as the source of the Danube, and by Eratosthenes (3d century B.C.), according to Caes. *B. G.* VI. 24, 2, who, on mere hearsay, describes it as nine days' journey in breadth and more than sixty days' journey in length, thus including the Black, Thuringian, and Bohemian forests. In Tacitus the term seems somewhat more restricted, referring more particularly to the region between the Neckar and Danube. On the geographical location of places and names in this and the following chapters, see map.

11. Hĕlvētii: at the time of Caesar's invasion they had already migrated into W. Switzerland, but part of the region referred to by Tacitus long retained a reminder of their occupation in the name *Helvetian Desert* (Ἑλουητίων ἔρημος). **citeriora, ulteriora**: *the near, the yonder side of* the Black and Bohemian Forests. Observe the chiasmus.

12. Bŏii: a restless Celtic tribe with an interesting history. The name occurs, as one already familiar, as early as Plaut. *Capt.* 888. According to Liv. V. 35, 2, they, among others, about the 4th century B.C., left their Gallic homes and overran Etruria and Umbria. They were not finally defeated till 193 B.C. Another branch had remained in their ancestral territory about the Hercynian forest, where, in the 2d century, they successfully resisted the Cimbri. Shortly before Caesar's arrival, they crossed over to Noricum (cp. *B. G.* I. 5, 3), 32,000 of them accompanying the Helvetii into Gaul. On the statement in ch. 42, 3, that the Boii were forced out of Bohemia by the Marcomani, see note *ad loc.* **Manet adhuc**: *and indeed there remains to this day.* On the emphatic position of the predicate, see *Introd.* p. lxvi.

13. Boihaemi nomen: *the name Bohemia* (= home of the Boii), an instance of the appositional genitive especially common with *nomen*. In the minor works of Tacitus, however, only here, ch. 26, 23, and *Dial.* 1, 4, *nomen ipsum oratoris.* **significatque**, etc.: *and in consequence testifies to the ancient history of the region*, the figurative use of the verb being directly suggested by its etymology (*signum facere*). The *-que* is, as often, epexegetic.

14. cultoribus: *inhabitants.* So ch. 26, 15; in a different sense, ch. 45, 8. **utrum . . . an**: this full form occurs in Tacitus only here and *Ann.* I. 58. **Aravisci**: written *Eravisci* on inscriptions

and in Pliny (*N. H.* III. 25, 28, 148); the form *Ravisci, Rausci* occurs on coins. On their location, see map.

15. Ōsis: a non-Germanic tribe, as is clear from ch. 43, 13. Of the alternatives here offered, only the first hypothesis is ethnologically acceptable. The Osi, possibly by agreement, remained in their territory while their kinsmen, the Aravisci, crossed the Danube, the departure being probably due to over-population. A similar cause for the migration of certain Gallic tribes is given by Liv. V. 34, 3, but this plausible solution of the problem did not occur to Tacitus or his authorities, as the following *cum* clause shows.

16. eodem . . . moribus: *isdem* must be supplied with the plurals out of *eodem*. The order in which these criteria are given is the usual one in Tacitus. Cp. ch. 43, 13; 46, 3; *Hist.* II. 37; III. 33. The asyndeton gives a cumulative effect to the argument. See *Introd.* p. lxvii.

17. Adhuc, i.e. in spite of the separation. **institutis**, political as well as religious; **moribus**, customs. Both terms are combined, e.g. *Ann.* VI. 32.

18. pari . . . inopia ac libertate: the argument is far from convincing, for the very poverty here mentioned may well have been due to the fact that the produce of the soil was no longer adequate to the needs of the population. See previous note. **eadem**: note the emphatic position. **utriusque ripae**: sc. *Danuvii.*

19. Trēvĕri: a Gallic or Belgian tribe, of which [Caes.] *B. G.* VIII. 25, 2, says, *propter Germaniae vicinitatem cotidianis exercita bellis cultu et feritate non multum a Germanis differebat.* They called in Roman aid against their German aggressors and are frequently mentioned in our sources. Their name survives in Trier or Trèves (= Augusta Treverorum), their capital. **Nĕrvii**: the most powerful of the Belgian Gauls, well known to us from Caesar's campaign against them, which ended in their virtual extermination. Caesar (*B. G.* II. 4, 1), Strabo (IV. 3, 4 p. 194), and Appian (*Hist. Rom.* IV. 1, 4) make them out to be Germans, and the Belgians generally claimed a Germanic origin, which Tacitus, however, with a touch of sarcasm, rejects, as the expressions *adfectationem, ultro, ambitiosi, tamquam, haud dubie* prove. **circa** = *de, in regard to*, a post-Augustan use of the preposition, frequent in Tacitus. Cp. note *Dial.* 3, 5. **adfectationem**: *urgent claim to.* A post-Augustan word.

20. ultro ambitiosi: *obtrusively eager*, i.e. more than necessary, if they had been genuine Germans. **tamquam**: *in the mistaken belief;* so generally in Tacitus of the opinion of others. The motive

here attributed to these tribes is, as usual, a mere fancy (cp. note ch. 7, 5), as their vigorous opposition to Caesar proves.

21. **per . . . gloriam**: *per* for the instrumental ablative is very common in Tacitus. **similitudine et inertia**: the specific term added to the general, on which Tacitean usage cp. *Introd.* p. lxviii. On the slothfulness of the Gauls, cp. l. 5 and *Agr.* 11, 16 ff. This is somewhat inconsistent with the statement in ch. 15, 6 ff., and thus furnishes an additional proof of the purely rhetorical character of the passage.

22. **Rheni ripam**, when used without an attributive like *nostra*, *dextra*, or *sinistra*, signifies the *left* or *Roman* side of the river. **haud dubie**: to be taken, as indeed its position seems to indicate, with *Germanorum*, not with *colunt*, to mark the contrast with the preceding pseudo-Germanic tribes.

23. **Vangiŏnes, Tribŏci, Nĕmētes**: the first had their principal seat at Borbetomăgus (Worms), the second probably at Argentoratum (Strassburg), the last at Noviomăgus (Speyer). They are found among Roman auxiliaries and eventually constituted part of Germania Superior. See map.

24. **Ūbii**: in the time of Caesar, they dwelt opposite the Treveri and were, at their own request, transplanted to the left bank of the Rhine by M. Agrippa in 38 B.C. **quamquam** with the subjunctive is the usual construction in Tacitus. **Romana colonia**: in 51 A.D., and known officially as *colonia* (Cologne, Köln) *Claudia Augusta Agrippinensis*, in honor of *Agrippina*, the wife of Claudius and granddaughter of M. Agrippa. See below. **meruerint**: *had the distinction of being*. With infinitive, in Tacitus also *Ann.* XIV. 48; XV. 67.

25. **libentius**: *right gladly*. Cp. note ch. 17, 14. **Agrippinenses**, etc.: reiterated in *Hist.* IV. 28; *Ann.* XII. 27. **conditoris sui**: sc. *Agrippinae*. *Conditor*, of a woman, in place of *conditrix*, which was not in use. Cp. also note ch. 7, 11. The Ubii here referred to would hardly have remembered her grandfather, nor is it at all probable that Tacitus had attributed the foundation of this settlement to him, an error which he is further supposed to have corrected in *Ann. l.c.*

26. **origine**: causal ablative. With *erubescere* again e.g. *Agr.* 42, 15. **transgressi olim . . . conlocati**: see note l. 24. **experimento fidei**: *because they had given proof of their loyalty.*

28. **arcerent**: sc. *transrhenanos hostes a Romanis*. **custodirentur**: as e.g. in the case of the Sugambri, in 8 B.C.

Page 47. Chapter 29. 1. **harum gentium**: i.e. *quae e Germania in Gallias commigraverint* (ch. 27, 3). **Bătāvi**: their immigration into what is the modern Holland (see map) took place before the time of Caesar, for he already found them on the *insula Rheni*, called *Vacalus* (*B. G.* IV. 10, 1). They are described by Tac. *Hist.* IV. 12, where the cause of their departure (*seditione domestica pulsis*), as well as the statement that they were a branch of the Chatti, is reiterated. The truth of this relationship has been unjustly called into question. It is in a measure confirmed by the alliance which they subsequently formed, under Civilis 70 A.D., with the Chatti and Mattiaci against the Romans. The Batavians were especially noted for their horsemanship and their skill in swimming. They were of huge stature and their hair was a pronounced blond. The imperial bodyguard was preferably recruited from them.

2. **multum ex ripa**: this construction is a post-Augustan usage for the partitive genitive. Cp. Stat. *Silv.* I. *praef.*, and in Tacitus again, ch. 46, 6; *Ann.* III. 18; XV. 68.

5. **fierent**: *were destined to become.* On this final subjunctive, cp. note *Agr.* ch. 34, 5. **Manet**: *and in fact, there remains.* See note ch. 28, 12. **honos . . . insigne**: the latter, as the specific term, defines *honos* more closely; hence also the singular predicate, see *Introd.* p. lxviii. **societatis**: they are called *fratres et amici populi Romani* on inscriptions.

6. **nec tributis contemnuntur**: the humiliating payment of tribute is given as a proof of the non-Germanic origin of the Osi (ch. 43, 15). **nec publicanus adterit**: sc. *eos*; *the tax farmer does not grind them down* by exacting *vectigalia.*

7. **oneribus**: *the ordinary burdens of taxation.* On the subjective dative, cp. note ch. 3, 30, and on the ellipsis of *igitur* (*and thus*), see *Introd.* p. lxix. **conlationibus**: *extraordinary taxes*, i.e. nominally voluntary contributions on special occasions, which often worked great hardships. Cp. Plin. *Pan.* 41, *conlationes remisisse* (sc. Traianum). **et tantum**: the last clause of the polysyndetic enumeration is amplified and often introduced by *et tantum*, here with chiasmus. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii. **in usum proeliorum**: they furnished some ten thousand auxiliary troops for the Roman army. On the antithesis, *proeliorum . . . belli*, see note ch. 30, 5.

8. **sepositi**: as of special value. Cp. *Agr.* 31, 28; *Ann.* XIII. 19. **tela atque arma**: a frequent collocation. Cp. ch. 33, 12, and note *Agr.* 25, 32.

9. obsequio: *loyalty*, sc. *erga Romanos*. **Mattiăcorum**: like the Batavi, they were closely related to the Chatti, and took part in the uprising of Civilis, all mention of which is strangely avoided in this and the following chapter. Their hot springs (the modern Wiesbaden) are mentioned by Plin. *N. H.* XXXI. 2, 17, 20.

10. protulit: on the emphatic position, cp. *Introd.* p. lxvi.

11. ultraque: *and in consequence*, the *-que* being epexegetic, which also accounts for the repetition of the preposition. **imperii**: objective genitive with *reverentiam*. **Ita** = *itaque*. Cp. note ch. 2, 14. **sede finibusque**: ablatives of specification.

12. mente animoque: here joined to balance the preceding synonymic group, though the collocation is extremely common, e.g. Ter. *Andr.* I. 1, 137 (vs. 164); Lucret. III. 140, 403; and Tac. *Hist.* I. 84. **agunt**: used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ; concretely with *in sua ripa* (dwell), figuratively with *nobiscum* (side with). They were organized after the defeat of Civilis into the *civitas Mattiacorum Taurensium*.

13. cetera: contrasted only with *in sua ripa*, as shown by *nisi quod*, etc., for the Batavians had emigrated from their ancestral abodes. But probably Tacitus wrote *ceterum*. **ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et caelo**, etc.: *owing to the very climate of their country they are to this day of a more spirited disposition*. *Adhuc*, a perplexing particle because of its varied meanings, is here best taken in the sense of *hodie quoque*, as in ch. 3, 1; 28, 9. 13; 34, 24. On *solo et caelo* = *climate*, cp. note ch. 4, 12. The plateau of the Mattiaci is contrasted with the level of the Batavian island, the resultant characteristics here mentioned being still observable in the mercurial temperament of the Rhinelanders as compared with the greater stolidity of the Dutch. The influence of climate upon character was a phenomenon familiar to the ancients. Cp. *Agr.* 24, 8 f.; Cic. *de div.* II. 42, 89, who attributes the doctrine to astrologers; Mela III. 4, 33. *ut caeli asperioris, ita ingenii*; but esp. Posidonius ap. Galen, *de plac. Hipp.* V. 290, κατὰ τὰς χώρας οὐ σμικρῷ τινι διενηνοχέναι τοῖς ἤθεσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς δειλίαν καὶ τόλμαν, etc. Cp. *Introd.* p. lvii.

15. numeraverim: a more modest form of expressing one's own conviction than the singular or plural indicative. Cp. ch. 46, 26; *Dial.* 1, 11; *Agr.* 1, 15.

16. děcŭmātes agros: like Cic. *in Verr.* II. 3, 6. 13, *ager Siciliae decumanus*, i.e. paying a ten per cent tax or tithe. The present designation occurs only here. Its form is of doubtful origin, some regarding it as developed from *decumus*, as *supernas*, *infernas* from *supernus*,

infernus. It has also been derived from a hypothetical town, *Decuma* or *ad decumum* (sc. *lapidem*), as *Taurinates agri* from *Taurinium*. In any case, it was a kind of reservation (on its location, see map), which served as a barrier against German aggression. It became *pars provinciae* under Domitian, whose hated name Tacitus has intentionally suppressed. Subsequently it reached a high state of prosperity.

17. exercent = *colunt*, is originally poetic (e.g. Verg. *Georg*. I. 219), but is repeatedly found in Tacitus, e.g. *Agr*. 31, 19.

18. audax: after *quisque* in place of *audacissimus*, but similar instances of inconcinnity are not rare in Tacitus, e.g. *Ann*. I. 48, *foedissimum quemque . . . promptum*. Cp. also note *Agr*. ch. 4, 20. **dubiae**: *precarious*, because constantly exposed to the attack of German invaders.

19. limite: this famous frontier line (the original meaning of the word is *a path across*) was begun by Vespasian, considerably advanced by Domitian, and finished by Hadrian. It extended in all over 336 miles. See map. **praesidiis**: garrisoned forts at stated intervals. Observe the chiasmus.

20. provinciae: somewhat loosely used, as it included part of *Germania superior* and *Raetia*. **habentur**: *were considered*, viz. the *agri decumates*.

Chapter 30. The following two chapters, dealing with the Chatti, are artistically elaborated to a high degree, the style thus reflecting the sincere admiration which this people aroused in the author. The most noteworthy rhetorical features are: *asyndetic collocations*, enumerative and adversative (ch. 30, 26. 28 f. 5. 7. 8; 31, 16. 22. 25); *anaphora* (ch. 30, 7); *chiasmus* (ch. 30, 27 ff. 1); *hypallage* (ch. 31, 13); *alliteration* (ch. 30, 26; 31, 14. 16); *libration* (ch. 30, 28 ff. 1. 8); *epigrammatic phrases* (ch. 30, 1. 3. 5. 7 f.; 31, 25); *poetical expressions* (ch. 30, 23. 24 f. 29; 31, 13. 15 f. 20 f. 26 f.).

21. Ultra hos: *on the other side of these*, i.e. the Batavi and Mattiaci, who, though Germans, dwelt on the left bank of the Rhine, for the inhabitants of the *agri decumates*, being Gauls, are probably not considered here. **Chatti**: the modern Hessians. They are first mentioned by Strabo. Cæsar probably included them among the Suebi. We hear of them the last time in 392, the name *Hessi* not occurring till the eighth century. They were inveterate enemies of Rome, but their resistance came to naught, owing to internecine feuds

with their neighbors, the *Cherusci* and *Hermunduri*. **initium . . . incohatur**: on this very common pleonasm, cp. notes ch. 18, 31; *Dial.* 11, 18, the most noteworthy example being, perhaps, Liv. III. 54, 9, *prima incohastis initia*.

22. **effusis**: *spread out.*

23. **durantes**, etc.: *for the hills, though they indeed continue for a distance.* The clause explains *non ita*, etc.

24. **rarescunt**: *open out*, i.e. become lower, until they disappear altogether. The phrase is poetic; in its figurative sense first in Verg. *Aen.* III. 411, *rarescunt claustra Pelori;* but of mountains proper only here and perhaps Lucan III. 7, *dubios cernit rarescere montes* (Mss. *canescere*). **Chattos suos**: *his beloved Chatti.* Cp. note ch. 8, 18.

25. **prosequitur simul ac deponit**: a very bold but picturesque personification, hence also the variation *saltus Hercynius*, for, as a merely geographical designation, the proper adjective, as above, seems always to precede. *Prosequitur* is elsewhere used of the escort of an orator from the forum to his home, as a mark of admiration. Cp. note *Dial.* 9, 1. *Simul ac = et . . . et.* Cp. note ch. 12, 28. **Duriora . . . vigor**: the asyndeton, dealing with physical characteristics, is followed by *et*, introducing a new idea (an intellectual trait), the last clause being, as usually, amplified. Cp. ch. 44, 11, and *Introd.* p. lxvii.

27. **ut inter Germanos**: *considering they are Germans*, for he had called them a *gens non astuta nec callida* (ch. 22, 7). For this use of *ut*, cp. note ch. 2, 8. **praeponere electos**: cp. ch. 7, 29. Observe the artistic collocation. The following *seven* carefully balanced historical infinitives are in apposition, more particularly to *sollertiae*, while the last member (*fortunam*, etc.) of the asyndetic enumeration is amplified, closing with a chiasmus, the statements themselves being in turn in chiastic apposition to *rationis*. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii.

28. **audire praepositos**: Cp. *Ann.* II. 45, *longa adversus nos militia insueverant* (sc. Cherusci et Suebi) *sequi signa . . . dicta imperatorum accipere.* For the usual practice of the Germans, see ch. 7, 30 *Ann.* l.c. *audire*, with acc. or dat., in the sense of *oboedire* is rare except in the phrase *dicto audiens.* In T. only here. **nosse ordines**: i.e. the Chatti knew how to keep rank (ordines servare). The ordinary line of battle of the Germans was *per cuneos*, but their discipline was not of the strictest (ch. 6, 23 f). **intellegere occasiones**:

sc. *agendi*, i.e. they understand how to seize the proper moment for action. Cp. *Agr.* 14, 15.

29. differre impetus: i.e. when they are in battle array, they do not engage the enemy until the proper moment presents itself. **disponere diem**: they assign specific duties for different hours of the day. The expression is of frequent occurrence. **vallare noctem** = *se vallare noctu*, a bold expression, coined by Tacitus for the sake of stylistic symmetry with the preceding. Cp. note ch. 16, 30.

Page 48. **1. inter . . . inter**: on the repetition of the preposition in an adversative asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. lxvii. For the thought, cp. e.g. Liv. XXII. 25, 14, *bono imperatore haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari;* Sen. *Phoen.* 629, *fortuna belli semper ancipiti in loco est*, the commonplace character of the sentiment showing at the same time that its attribution to the Chatti is purely rhetorical.

3. plus reponere in duce, etc.: *re-* seems to have lost its force in compounds earlier than the other prepositions. Cp. note ch. 24, 28, and Liv. II. 39, 1, *plus spei repositum;* Justin. XXIV. 8, 2, *plus in deo . . . reponere.* This being an important characteristic, shared alike by Germans and Romans, Tacitus expresses his astonishment at the coincidence. See note ch. 6, 26. With the fact itself, cp. e.g. Liv. II. 39, 2, *ut facile adpareret ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse.*

4. Omne robur in pedite: the emphasis is on *omne*, as appears from ch. 6, 17, the Chatti forming a notable exception, doubtless because the hilly condition of their country made it less suitable for cavalry. **super**: *over and above, in addition to.* So e.g. ch. 32, 30; 43, 29; and frequently elsewhere, from the time of Livy. **ferramentis**: e.g. picks, spades, shovels, saws, and like iron tools. Cp. Caes. *B. G.* V. 42, 3.

5. copiis: *provisions.* **proelium . . . bellum**: the former is a pitched battle, the latter an organized campaign. For the same antithesis, cp. ch. 29, 7; *Ann.* II. 88; *Hist.* II. 40; Curt. IV. 14, 15, 54. On the adversative asyndeton, see *Introd.* p. lxvii. **videas**: *one can see.* This rare '*can-could-*' potential is strictly confined to the indefinite 2d singular of present and imperfect verbs of *thinking*, *knowing*, etc. For another instance, cp. ch. 45, 18.

6. Rari for *rara sunt*, here agreeing with the nearer noun. Cp. note ch. 3, 23 and *Introd.* p. lxvi. The statement, in view of what has just

been said of their disciplined methods of warfare, is superfluous, but it was here again emphasized, partly because the opposite was so common a failing among German tribes (cp. e.g. *Ann.* II. 17, 45), partly because this mode of fighting is more characteristic of cavalry, but, in the case of the Chatti, *omne robur in pedite.*

7. Equestrium sane, etc. : *nor need we wonder at this, for, of course*, etc. On the ellipsis of *nam*, see *Introd.* p. lxix. **cito parare victoriam. cito cedere**: the former refers more particularly to *rari excursus*, the latter to *fortuita pugna.* Cp. note ch. 2, 1. On the anaphora, see *Introd.* p. lxvii. *Cedere*, for *cedere loco* (ch. 6, 23), is the more frequent idiom in Tacitus.

8. iuxta: *is more akin to.* Cp. note ch. 21, 15. It is combined with *propior* also *Ann.* VI. 42.

Chapter 31. **10. Et**: *moreover.* **populis**: the subjective dative. Cp. note ch. 3, 30. **usurpatum raro**: *an occurrence, rare.* The substantival use of a neuter singular perfect passive participle for a relative clause is found repeatedly in Tacitus and not rarely elsewhere. Here it is the subject, the following infinitives (*submittere, exuere*) being in apposition. Cp. ch. 38, 5; note *Agr.* 1, 2. **et**, etc. : i.e. *and where it does occur, is the outcome of the personal boldness of an individual.*

11. audentia: a post-Augustan equivalent for *audacia*; but in a good sense the word seems not to be found elsewhere. **in consensum vertit**: *has become a recognized practice.* With the phrase, cp. note *Dial.* 4, 14; *Hist.* IV. 65, the verb having the force of a reflexive or middle, as often.

12. crinem barbamque submittere: the regular order is here reversed, in accordance with Tacitean usage, so as to add a touch of novelty to hackneyed expressions. *Submittere* = *demittere*, or *promittere, allow to grow*, used of *crinis*, *capillum*, as well as of *barba*, is post-Augustan. Cp. Plin. *Epist.* VII. 27, 14; Sen. *ad Polyb.* 36, 5; Suet. *Caes.* 67; *Octav.* 23; *Calig.* 47.

13. votivum: such vows are frequently recorded, e.g. Herod. I. 8, 2; Catull. LXVI, 9; Sil. Ital. IV. 200; Suet. *Caes. l.c.*; Tac. *Hist.* IV. 61; and esp. Paulus Diaconus (8th century A.D.) III. 7, who relates that 6000 Saxons vowed to let their hair and beard grow, till they had avenged themselves upon the Suebi. In our time, election bets have often taken a similar form.

13. obligatum virtuti: *consecrated to valor.* For the sake of conciseness, *obligatum* is joined to *habitum* by a kind of hypallage,

being in reality equivalent to *quo habitu se obligaverunt*, for the beard is not itself dedicated *virtuti*, but merely symbolizes the vow.

14. sanguinem et spolia: sc. *caesi hostis*, *the blood-stained booty*. On the alliteration, see *Introd.* p. lxviii. The same collocation occurs *Hist.* IV. 14.

15. revelant: *uncover*, i.e. cut off. The figure is poetical, the thick hair being regarded as a veil, or hood, that concealed their foreheads. Observe that while *revelant* refers especially to *crines*, *frontem* is strictly applicable only to *barba*. Cp. note ch. 2, 1. **tum demum**: *then and not until then.* **pretia nascendi**, etc.: *have they discharged the obligations imposed by birth.*

16. dignosque: *and in consequence worthy*; the *-que* is epexegetic. **ignavis et imbellibus**: on the collocation, see note ch. 12, 19; on the adversative asyndeton, cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii.

17. squalor: sc. *crinis barbaeque*, is the *vox propria* for dishevelled or neglected hair. The entire statement is somewhat incompatible, both with what precedes and what follows, but the author, in the rhetorical fervor which characterizes his admiring account of the Chatti, overlooked the incongruity.

18. insuper: *in addition*, i.e. to the *crinem barbamque submittere*, etc. Cp. note ch. 12, 20. **ignominiosum id genti**: for among the Romans and among Germanic people generally, as may be seen from the Béowulf, this was a mark of rank and distinction. The implied reference to Roman usage shows that a finger ring is meant, for otherwise there would have been no basis for the contrast. Bracelets as a symbol of bondage belong to later mediaeval times. According to Arist. *Polit.* VII. 2, 6, the Macedonians wore a belt until they had slain an enemy.

19. gestat: *openly exhibit*, cp. *Hist.* IV. 3, *anulis quos . . . gestabat.* The verb here suggests the defiance of custom involved. **plurimis**: *very many.* Cp. note ch. 18, 21.

20. hic . . . habitus: viz. the *squalor* and *anulus.* **canent insignes**, etc.: *they grow gray with these distinguishing marks of their prowess, a conspicuous object to friend and foe*, i.e. many retain these features to old age, even after the killing of an enemy would have released them from their vow, for the allusion cannot be to men who had not succeeded in satisfying this condition.

21. hostibus simul suisque: *both by the enemy* (in time of war) *and by their own people* (in time of peace). On the subjective dative, cp. note ch. 3, 30, and on *simul . . . que* (*ac*) = *et . . . et*, see note

ch. 30, 25. **monstrati** = *digito monstrati*, *pointed out.* With few exceptions this was a sign of admiration among the ancients. See note *Dial.* 7, 18; with the ellipsis of *digito*, as here, cp. e.g. *Agr.* 13, 29. **Omnium . . . pugnarum**: note the emphatic collocation of words.

22. haec: by attraction for *horum* or *ex his.* Cp. note ch. 7, 11. **prima . . . acies** may mean either the front rank of the battle array, as in *Hist.* II. 41; *Ann.* II. 14; or the beginning of the battle; so *Hist.* IV. 33. The latter is here excluded by the preceding clause.

23. visu nova: sc. *semper*; *always an astonishing sight*, i.e. for Romans, who had but recently come upon these fire-eaters in the campaign which Domitian conducted against the Chatti in 83 A.D. The noun is either an archaic dative, or else Tacitus wrote *visui*. For another peculiar meaning of the adjectives, cp. *Agr.* 16, 21, *delictis hostium novus* (*unacquainted with*) and, as here, ch. 43, 4. On the difficulty involved in the traditional interpretation, see Critical Appendix. **cultu mitiore mansuescunt** = *mitiores et mansuetiores fiunt*, *they soften under a milder form of life.* Cp. Asellio, *fragm.*, *ut mitior mansuetiorque fiat*; Cic. *de inv.* I. 2, 2, *mites reddidit et mansuetos.* The intransitive sense of the finite verb is a rare poetic and post-Augustan usage, but the participle is generally common.

24. Nulli domus: like the Germans under Ariovistus, *qui inter annos XIV tectum non subissent* (Caes. *B. G.* I. 36, 7). **prout** = *ut*, *whenever.* In this sense not elsewhere in Tacitus.

25. prodigi alieni, contemptores sui: for a similar antithesis, cp. Sall. *Cat.* 5, 4, *alieni adpetens*, *sui profusus.*

26. exsanguis senectus: probably one of the many Tacitean reminiscences of Lucan, who uses this identical phrase (I. 343), the attributive avoiding a possible contradiction with *canent insignes* (l. 20). **durae virtuti**: *exacting prowess.*

Chapter 32. **28. certum iam alveo Rhenum**: in contrast with the upper Rhine, the river's bed had become sufficiently deep and broad to serve as a natural bulwark. The Rhine seems in Roman times not to have been navigable above Bingen, and the *limes* began immediately south of the Tencteri. See map.

29. sufficiat: consecutive subjunctive. The infinitive with this verb is poetic. Cp. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* V. 22. **Ūsĭpi ac Tĕnctēri**: probably branches of one and the same race, and hence generally mentioned together. They crossed the Rhine in 55 B.C., but suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Caesar (*B. G.* IV. 14 f.), near Coblentz.

In the reign of Tiberius, they occupied the territory once belonging to the Sugambri, on the right bank of the river. They had fought Lollius (17 B.C.), Drusus (12 A.D.), and joined the Batavian uprising in 70 A.D. The Usipi seem to have been finally subdued in the reign of Domitian, and they are found among the auxiliaries of Agricola in 83 A.D. Cp. *Agr.* ch. 28. Their casual mention here may well be due to Tacitus's aversion to credit Domitian with their subjugation. What is said of the Tencteri was in all probability equally true of the Usipi; at least, Caes. IV. 12, 1 f. confirms their equestrian skill. **colunt** = *accolunt, dwell along.*

30. super: as in ch. 30, 4. **solitum**: i.e. over and above the military prowess which they share with the Germans generally, the Tencteri excel in horsemanship.

31. apud Chattos . . . Tencteris: on this variation, characteristic of Tacitus, cp. *Introd. Agr.* p. xxxiv. 2. With *apud*, e.g. *Hist.* II. 78, *apud ipsum . . . sperantibus*, V. 4; *Ann.* IV. 68.

Page 49. **1. instituere**, etc.: adversative asyndeton with chiasmus. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii.

2. Hi . . . haec, etc. = *cum equis ludunt infantes, iuvenes aemulantur, perseverant senes*, the pronouns being attracted to the verbal nouns, and the several clauses being arranged in a kind of chiastic order.

3. Inter: *along with, as part of.* **familiam et penates et iura successionum**: *slaves, and household goods, and other legitimate objects of inheritance.* On the common ellipsis of *cetera, alia*, cp. note ch. 10, 15.

4. traduntur, etc.: if the statements in this passage, in spite of their rhetorical coloring, are to be accepted as on the whole trustworthy, Tacitus attributes the custom of *primogeniture* and *testation* to the Tencteri (and Usipi), as something peculiar to them alone, for the former is significantly omitted in ch. 20, 5 ff., while the absence of wills is especially noted as characteristic of the Germans generally; but the *prout ferox*, etc., could only have been determined by the testator in case there were several *adult* sons. We are not told what disposition was made of the *equi* in case there were no children, or only daughters, surviving. **excipit** implies that the son adjudged the bravest could claim the horses *at once*, without waiting for the regular distribution of the rest of the estate. It is, however, intrinsically improbable that all the horses should have been given to this son; more likely only the favorite steed of the father passed to him.

5. **prout ferox bello et melior**: *according as he is fierce in war and in fact a better man*, viz. than the oldest son. As *maximus*, not *maior natu*, has preceded, we should expect *optimus*, *prout ferox* being virtually equivalent to *ferocissimus quisque*. *Bello*, as belonging to both *ferox* and *melior*, is, according to Tacitean usage, placed between them. See *Introd.* p. lxvi.

Chapter 33. 6. **Brūctĕri**: on their position, see map. They were inveterate enemies of Rome, taking part in the battle of the Teutoburg forest (9 A.D.) and in the uprising under Civilis. The prophetess Veleda, mentioned ch. 8, 23, belonged to this tribe. The disaster which is here said to have overtaken the Bructeri was probably in a civil war, in which the Romans intervened. Cp. Plin. *Epist.* VII. 2, written about the same time as the *Germania*. Subsequently they seem to have recovered from the blow; at all events, we meet with them frequently down to the time of the Venerable Bede (8th century). **occurrebant** = *agebant*. In Tacitus only here in this sense.

7. **Chămāvos**: according to *Ann.* XIII. 55, they dwelt originally on the lower Rhine, between the Batavi, Frisii, and Bructeri. They were finally absorbed by the Franks. **Angrivārios**: see map. Their name does not disappear till the time of Charles the Great. **narratur**: the impersonal construction with the accusative with the infinitive, though the original one in Latin and common with verbs like *tradi*, *dici*, *existimari*, etc., is extremely rare with *narrari*, e.g. Ovid, *Met.* XV. 311; Plin. *N. H.* XXXV. 11, 38, 121.

8. **paene tum excisis**: Tacitus habitually thus modifies what might seem an exaggerated expression; with *paene* or *prope*, e.g. *Agr.* 18, 21; 33, 4; *Hist.* I. 50; 80, 2. **vicinarum**: note the emphatic position.

9. **praedae dulcedine**: a phrase of frequent occurrence, e.g. *Hist.* II. 7, *d. praedarum*. The genitive elsewhere invariably follows; here it precedes, so that the last and amplified member of the polysyndeton may close with a chiasmus. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxvii.

10. **favore . . . deorum**: reflections on this subject are frequent in Tacitus, but vary considerably. Cp. e.g. *Hist.* IV. 78, *nec sine ope divina . . . terga victores vertere*; 81, *multa miracula evenere . . . quīs caelestis favor . . . in Vespasianum . . . ostenderetur*, with I. 13, *nec enim umquam atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus . . . adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.* **spectaculo . . . invidere**: either ablative, with *nobis* to be supplied

from *erga nos*, or dative. The ablative of the thing is expressly stated by Quint. IX. 3, 1, to be post-Ciceronian. Tacitus has both constructions, but there is only one instance of the dative of the thing, viz. *Ann.* XIII. 53, *invidit operi*, where *opere*, however, may be the original.

11. sexaginta milia . . . ceciderunt: i.e. on both sides. Tacitus usually avoids large round numbers. See note *Agr.* 37, 11. Here his ardent patriotism got the better of him.

12. armis telisque: the specific term is added to the generic and both balanced with *oblectationi oculisque.* Cp. note ch. 29, 8, and *Introd.* p. lxviii.

13. oblectationi oculisque: *for the delight of our eyes*, as if the carnage had been witnessed in a Roman amphitheatre. Elsewhere Tacitus is very severe on gladiatorial exhibitions, on the ground of their demoralizing influence. The final dative with intransitive verbs, other than *esse*, though not uncommon in the later works, is found in the minor writings only here and *Agr.* 31, 12. On the addition of the concrete noun by way of definition of an abstract substantive, cp. *Dial.* 22, 13, *visum et oculos delectet;* Cic. *de orat.* III. 44, 73, *delectationis atque aurium causa;* Val. Flacc. VIII. 60; and *Introd.* p. lxviii. Though conveniently translated as hendiadys, the phrase is not conceived as such, as shown by *armis telisque*, with which it is librated. With the savage sentiment, cp. Sen. *de ira*, II. 5, 4, *Hannibalem aiunt dixisse, cum fossam sanguine humano plenam vidisset: o formosum spectaculum!*

14. gentibus: the word is here well on its way to its later meaning of *foreigners.* **si non . . . at certe**: a frequent collocation in Tacitus.

15. quando: *since*, a common meaning, but in the minor works of Tacitus only here. **urgentibus . . . fatis**: *with the fate of empire pushing on*, in accordance with the historical mission of Rome, crystallized in the memorable passage of Verg. *Aen.* VI. 851 ff., *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*, etc.; for that Tacitus, unlike e.g. Amm. Marc. XXXI. 1, 4, had as yet not even a vague presentiment, as is generally inferred from this passage, that the empire might some day succumb to the attacks of these northern barbarians, is clearly shown by *Hist.* IV. 54 (written perhaps ten years after the *Germania*), *Captam olim a Gallis urbem, sed integra Iovis sede mansisse imperium. Fatali nunc* (69 A.D.) *igne signum caelestis irae datum et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi* SUPERSTITIONE VANA *Druidae canebant.* The phrase is

Vergilian (*Aen.* II. 653), thereafter frequent, especially in Livy, e.g. V. 36, 6, *urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis.* **fortuna**: like *fatum*, is often personified, both in Tacitus and elsewhere. With the sentiment, cp. especially *Agr.* 12, 23 ff.

Chapter 34. **17. a tergo . . . a fronte**: east and west, or northwest, the people being supposed to face the sea. **Dūlgūbnii et Chasūarii**: they are again mentioned by Ptolemaeus (Δουλγούμνιοι, Κασούαροι), but nothing further is known of them. The name of the latter is, erroneously said to have survived in the river *Hase*, near Osnabrück, see note ch. 36, 23.

18. aliaeque gentes: we do not know who these were, but perhaps the Ansibarii, Turones, Tubantes are among them. **haud perinde memoratae**: sc. *atque Dulgubnii et Chasuarii; not equally, still less discussed*, namely, by the authorities whom Tacitus followed. The meaning *memorabiles, memoratu dignae*, generally given to the participle here, is unparalleled. With *haud perinde* the ellipsis of the comparison is the invariable rule in Tacitus.

19. Frīsii: the only people mentioned in the *Germania* who have retained their name, location, and language to this day. They first appear as opponents of Drusus, were subdued by Corbulo in 47 A.D., but joined the revolt under Civilis. The *Frisiavones* of Plin. *N. H.* IV. 15, 29, 101, are probably identical with the *Frisii minores*. The other branch probably maintained a greater independence, as is implied in the phrase *ex modo virium*. **excipiunt**: *follow on closely, join directly*. In this strictly local sense the verb is rare, e.g. Caes. *B.C.* I. 66, 4, *inde excipere loca aspera*; Ovid. *Fast.* IV. 281; Plin. *Epist.* V. 6, 25.

20. Utraeque nationes: for the more usual *utraque natio*, the plural being often used when the connection is very close. Cp. e.g. *Ann.* XV. 11. *utrosque intuens* (*aviam et patrem*); Sall. *Cat.* 30, 14; Verg. *Aen.* VI. 685.

21. Rheno: subjective dative. So *classibus* below. Cp. note ch. 3, 30. **praetexuntur**: *bordered, fringed*. Cp. Plin. *N. H.* VI. 25, 29, 112, *gentes praetexunt* (sc. *montes*). Cic. *de rep.* II. 4, 9, still apologizes for the metaphor, *agris quasi adtexta quaedam . . . ora*.

22. inmensos = *magnos*. Cp. note ch. 1, 4. The largest of these was Lake Flevo, but, in the great inundation of 1287, they were all joined into what is now the Zuyder Zee. **insuper**: i.e. apart from the bank of the Rhine. In its local sense the word is always post-

positive. **et** = *etiam*. **Romanis classibus**: viz. those of Drusus (12 B.C.), Tiberius (5 A.D.), and Germanicus (15–16 A.D.).

23. quin etiam: on the position, see note ch. 3, 29. **Oceanum illa temptavimus**: *from there we made trial of* (ventured out upon) *the Ocean*, i.e. for purposes of exploration. The verb is often used of dangerous marine exploits, e.g. Hor. *Carm.* III. 4, 31; Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* VI. 23, 3, *ipsum* (sc. Oceanum) *quoque temptavit* (sc. Alexander). On the personification of the Ocean, see below, l. 27; ch. 2, 15; 44, 22. *Illa*, sc. *a parte* = *unde* or *ibi*, a rare elliptical usage, e.g. Plaut. *Most.* III. 3, 27 (vs. 931); Ovid, *Fast.* VI. 395; and Tac. *Hist.* III. 8; V. 18; *Ann.* II. 17. **superesse**: *remained over*, i.e. unexplored, as shown by *fama vulgavit.*

24. Herculis columnas: this statement is in all probability ultimately due to Pytheas of Massilia (4th century B.C.) who, in his work περὶ ὠκεανοῦ, told of his reaching what may be identified with the entrance to the Baltic Sea, which he mistook for the Tanais, flowing into the Black Sea, where pillars of Hercules were also located by the ancients. The belief, moreover, of the presence of Hercules in Germany (see ch. 3, 17), and the actual existence of certain lofty rocks in the northern ocean, may easily have led Pytheas to this identification. The supposition that some fancied resemblance to a name, like *Hygelac* (Béowulf, 1820), was responsible for the statement is improbable, as this designation could not have been known to the Romans, nor had any one in recent times reached this region, as Tacitus expressly says. **fama vulgavit**: *according to a widespread tradition.* This same phrase is particularly frequent in Curtius. Cp. esp. X. 3, 1, 17, *ibi* (i.e. Gades) *namque columnas Herculis esse fama vulgaverat.* **adiit**: *was actually there*, the emphasis being given by the position of the predicate.

25. in claritatem . . . referre consensimus: *it is agreed to put to the credit of his fame.* With the sentiment, cp. Servius on Verg. *Aen.* XI. 262, *quod autem ait Protei columnas, ratione non vacat, nam columnas Herculis legimus et in Ponto et in Hispania. Hunc autem Proteum fortissimum . . . constat fuisse. Novimus autem quod omnes fortes Hercules dicebantur.*

27. Druso Germanico: *Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus* the Elder, the stepson of Augustus, brother of Tiberius, was the first Roman to penetrate the North Sea, as is expressly attested by Suet. *Claud.* 1, 11, and by implication in Augustus, *Monum. Ancyr.* Cp. note ch. 1, 5. **obstitit . . . inquiri**: the infinitive after *obsistere*

is found only here. Cp. Pedo Albinovanus ap. Sen. *Suas.* I. 15, 20, in reference to this identical expedition: *Di revocant rerumque vetant cognoscere finem Mortales oculos; aliena quid aequora remis Et sacras violamus aquas divumque quietas Turbamus sedes?* Translate: *the Ocean resisted an inquiry both into itself and into Hercules.* On this force of *simul atque*, see note ch. 12, 28.

28. Mox nemo temptavit: sc. *inquirere*, not *Oceanum*, for the fleets of Tiberius and Drusus the younger (see above, l. 22) had also sailed on the North Sea, but they were not bent on a voyage of discovery, but of conquest. **sanctiusque ac reverentius**: *more in keeping with pious respect.*

29. de actis deorum credere quam scire: here more particularly of the demigod Hercules. Man's attempt to pry into the secrets of nature is often in antiquity stamped as an impious presumption. In reference to navigation, as here, e.g. Hor. *Carm.* I. 3, 21 ff., *nequiquam deus abscidit Prudens Oceano dissociabili Terras, si tamen impiae Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada*; and on the statement itself, cp. Sen. *Epist.* 95, 50, *primus est deorum cultus deos credere. Credo* with *de*, occurs also Sall. *Cat.* 31, 7, and repeatedly in Tacitus.

Page 50. Chapter 35. **1. Hactenus . . . novimus**: *so far we have become acquainted with Germany toward the west.* The usual interpretation of the passage, *up to this point do we Romans know western Germany, but to the north*, etc., is open to two objections. In the first place, it implies that there was more of *western* Germany still to be explored, whereas the very geographical conception of Tacitus and of the ancients generally precludes this; in the second place, the rendering is incompatible with what follows. **in septentrionem ingenti flexu redit**: *now to the north, Germany turns back with a huge bend.* The Cimbrian peninsula was supposed, as late as the time of Alfred the Great, to be situated much farther east than it actually is. In the days of Strabo, as he frankly avows (VII. 24), this region was practically unknown. On *ingens* in its unweakened sense, see note ch. 1, 4. On the figurative use of *redit*, cp. Verg. *Georg.* III. 351, *redit . . . Rhodope*; Mela, I. 56, *redeunte flexu*; III. 1.

2. primo = *primo loco.* In this local sense, the adverb seems to be a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον.

3. Chaucorum: on their location, see map. They first appear in history in the campaigns of the elder Drusus, who defeated them, and they fought as Roman auxiliaries against the Cherusci. Subse

quently they were again hostile to Rome and they joined the revolt under Civilis. Pliny, *N. H.* XVI. 1, 1, 2, probably from personal observation, describes them as wholly uncivilized barbarians, adding, *et hae gentes si vincantur hodie a populo Romano servire se dicunt!*, in glaring contrast with the high eulogy bestowed upon them here. On the significance of this discrepancy, see *Introd.* p. lxiii. **quamquam**: on the subjunctive, see note ch. 28, 24.

4. omnium . . . gentium: viz. in ch. 29 ff. The statement is exaggerated for rhetorical reasons. **lateribus**: *boundaries*, i.e. west and south. So again in this treatise, ch. 36, 16, *frons* pointing to the ocean and the north, *tergum* to the interior.

5. obtenditur: *faces, stretches along opposite.* So *Agr.* 10, 7; Mela II. 28; Plin. *N. H.* V. 19, 17, 77. **in Chattos usque sinuetur**: if Tacitus was not misinformed or led into error by inaccurate maps, we must suppose that the Chauci and Chatti had respectively moved south and north and occupied part of the regions of the Cherusci and Fosi after their downfall, the Angrivarii shifting into the territory of the Bructeri. See ch. 33, 6 f.

7. sed et implent: cp. Vell. Pat. II. 106, 2, *omnis eorum* (sc. Chaucorum) *iuventus infinita numero.*

8. quique = *talis ut*, consecutive subjunctive. **iustitia tueri**: sc. *quam vi.* In the idealized aspect in which the ancients viewed the barbarians of the remote north (cp. *Introd.* p. lxiii), a love of justice always figures as their most prominent characteristic. Cp. e.g. *Iliad*, XIII. 6, Ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων; Aesch. *Prom. Solut. fragm.* 196 N., δῆμον ἐνδικώτατον ⟨βροτῶν⟩ ἁπάντων . . . Γαβίους, the Scythians being especially so eulogized. **Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia**: *without greed, without ungovernable violence.* An abstract noun with *sine* is the idiomatic substitute in Latin for a negative adjective not in use, and it is hence often in Tacitus combined with other attributives. So e.g. *Dial.* 32, 2, *circumcisa et amputata, sine adparatu, sine honore;* 40, 10, *sine obsequio, sine severitate, contumax, temeraria; Ann.* XIII. 35, *sine miseratione, sine ira, obstinatum clausumque.* — In *Ann.* XI. 18, it may be noted, Tacitus speaks of the *ferocia* of the Chauci.

9. quieti secretique: *tranquil and secluded.* This statement is slightly inconsistent with the vast extent of their territory, for that Tacitus had in mind only those dwelling near the sea is nowhere indicated in the context. Cp. Vell. Pat. *l.c. situ locorum tutissima.* **nulla provocant bella**: *they give rise to no wars.* The phrase is

explanatory of *quieti secretique*, the clause *nullis . . . populantur* referring to *sine impotentia* in *chiastic* order, as often in Tacitus, at the close of a period. For this post-Augustan meaning of *provocare*, cp. *Hist.* II. 61, *p. arma;* Plin. *Paneg.* 16, 1, *bella non provocas.*

10. raptibus et latrociniis: so combined, *Hist.* I. 46; II. 58, *per latrocinia et raptus*, *latrocinia* being the narrower term. This statement is contradicted by Tacitus himself in *Ann.* XI. 18, where he speaks of wanton predatory raids of the Chauci, *nulla dissensione domi.* They were defeated by Corbulo in 47 A.D. **populantur**: sc. *finitimorum agros.* Cp. note *Agr.* 20, 18.

11. virtutis ac virium: the same alliterative collocation occurs, e.g. Cic. *de orat.* II. 27, 12.

12. ut superiores agant: *their superiority*, object of *adsequuntur.*

13. si res poscat: a formulaic phrase. Cp. e.g. ch. 44, 17; *Dial.* 31, 4; *Hist.* I. 79; II. 5. **exercitus**: *an organized army*, as opposed to *arma.* The term is rarely applied to non-Roman forces (e.g. ch. 30, 3; 43, 3). Here it is in the nature of a compliment, quite in keeping with the eulogistic tone of the chapter. *Promptus est* must be supplied out of the preceding *prompta.*

14. plurimorum: here, as often in Tacitus, used in its weakened sense of *very many.* Cp. note ch. 1, 9. **virorum equorumque** = *peditum equitumque*, a stereotyped phrase more usually in inverse order, but, as here, e.g. *Hist.* II. 70; III. 2; and Cic. *de off.* III. 33, 116, *viris equisque* (*with might and main*). **quiescentibus** = *in pace.*

15. eadem fama: sc. *atque in bello.*

Chapter 36. **16. Chĕrūsci**: their great career in history began with the crushing defeat of Varus in the Teutoburg Forest in 9 A.D., under their illustrious leader, Arminius, to whom Tacitus has paid a celebrated tribute in *Ann.* II. 88, *liberator haud dubie Germaniae . . . proeliis ambiguus, bello non victus.* After his assassination in 19 A.D., the Cherusci fell a prey to internecine feuds with the Chatti. In 84–5 A.D. they had so far degenerated as to invoke the aid of Domitian, who, however, only gave them money. After Tacitus' time they disappear from history, their name figuring in later writers only as a literary reminiscence. For their location, see map.

17. marcentem: *enervating*, here used by metonymy, cause for effect. So similarly *Dial.* 13, 17, *famam pallentem*, where see note. **inlacessiti**: a Tacitean word, occurring only here and *Agr.* 20, 23.

nutrierunt: *fostered.* The entire statement is at variance with the facts, for the Cherusci were, down to the time of Domitian, constantly engaged in intertribal feuds. Tacitus seems to attribute their degeneration to their undisturbed peace with the Romans rather than to the struggles with their neighbors, which, as they did not strictly partake of regular warfare, were probably not considered by him as conducive to military prowess, but to disintegration.

18. idque: viz. *diu pacem inlacessiti nutrire.* On the agreement with only a part of the antecedent, see note ch. 8, 17. **impotentes**: sc. *Chattos*, *ungovernable;* so *impotentia* above.

19. validos: sc. *Chaucos.* **falso quiescas**: *you would be wrong in thinking yourself at peace amid*, etc.; cp. *si vis pacem, para bellum*, a precaution attributed to the Chauci (ch. 35, 13 ff.) and Langobardi (ch. 40, 27). The adverb expresses a judgment of the author, the subjunctive after *quia* implying the deceptive or unreal character of their alleged *quies.* This pregnant construction is of frequent occurrence in Tacitus and not rare elsewhere. Cp. e.g. *Agr.* 30, 28, *frustra . . . effugeris ; Hist.* I. 16, *si te bene elegi* (*if I have done well in selecting you*) ; Sall. *Iug.* 1, 1, *falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum.* **manu agitur** = *armis pugnatur.* **modestia ac probitas**: *justice and fair dealing*, taken up by *boni aequique* in chiastic order. The plural predicate after two abstract nouns joined by *ac* (*atque*) is the rule in Tacitus, but the singular with *et.* Cp. note *Dial.* 5, 18. The collocation of these terms is common, cp. *Dial.* 5, 24; 29, 16; *Ann.* XIV. 15.

20. nomina superioris sunt: *are names of the victor.* Cp. the the phrase *might is right.* **Ita** = *itaque.* Cp. note ch. 2, 14.

21. Cherusci: sc. *vocati sunt*, to be supplied out of *vocantur.* Such ellipses are characteristic of Tacitus. Cp. e.g. ch. 41, 20; *Dial.* 7, 3; 16, 14; *Hist.* IV. 26, and note *Agr.* 2, 7. **vocantur**: *are regarded as* (*go by the name*); the literal meaning would absurdly imply that Tacitus had actually heard them so designated. For the sentiment, cp. Sen. *Epist.* 45, 7, *temeritas sub titulo fortitudinis latet, moderatio vocatur ignavia ; de ira*, III. 41, 3, *volgus animosa miratur et audaces in honore sunt, placidi pro inertibus habentur.*

22. (sed) **Chattis**: adversative asyndeton. The victory alluded to probably belongs to the year 83 A.D. See note 36, 22. **fortuna in sapientiam cessit**: the same phrase occurs in Sallust, *fragm.* 1, 4 Hr., *id illi in sapientiam cesserit*, and similarly *Hist.* II. 59, *in solatium cessit ; Ann.* XIV. 54. The thought itself seems to have

been a commonplace in both Greek and Latin. Cp. Eur. *Heracl.* 746, τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς; Arist. *Plut.* 350, ἢν μὲν κατορθώσωμεν, εὖ πράττειν ἀεί· ἢν δὲ σφαλῶμεν, ἐπιτετρῖφθαι τὸ παράπαν; *Ran.* 735; Plaut. *Pseud.* II. 3, 13 ff. (vss. 682 ff.), *ut quisque fortuna utitur, ita praecellet atque exinde sapere eum omnes dicimus . . . stultum autem illum quoi vortit male;* Cic. *pro Rab.* 1, 1, *consilia eventis ponderemus et cui bene quid processerit, multum illum providisse, cui secus, nihil sensisse dicamus.* **Tracti ruina**: so *Hist.* III. 29, and Ovid, *Met.* VIII. 497.

23. Fōsi: this tribe is nowhere else mentioned, being probably always included under the name Cherusci. The supposition that the *Fohse*, a small river, emptying into the Aller, near Hanover, has preserved the ancient name, is erroneous, for the designations of rivers and tribes are never identical. Cp. note ch. 34, 17. **adversarum**, etc.: i.e. in adversity they are on an equal footing with their allies, while during the height of Cheruscan power, they occupied an inferior position, — a bitterly sarcastic observation, beneath which lurks the pleasure felt by the Roman patriot at the downfall of the conquerors of Varus' legions.

Chapter 37. **26. Eundem . . . sinum**: the Cimbrian Chersonese (Jutland), referred to above, ch. 35, 2. **Cimbri**: after their crushing defeat by Marius in 101 B.C., near Vercellae, they practically disappear from history. Augustus, in the *Mon. Ancyr.*, V. 26, 16 f., again mentions them among other German tribes as having sought *per legatos amicitiam meam et populi Romani.* They were the descendants of those who did not join their fellows on their southern invasion.

27. parva nunc civitas: this seems to be a mere inference inserted by way of contrast with the following, for the Romans of the author's time no longer possessed any authentic or direct information about this remote region. **gloriā ingens**: ablative of respect. With *ingens*, e.g. *Hist.* I. 61; II. 81; *Ann.* XI. 10, *ingens gloria.*

28. utraque ripa: probably the Rhine as well as of the Danube. **castra ac spatia** = *castrorum spatia* or *castra spatiosa.* Hendiadys, as *molem manusque* (l. 1 f.). Cp. *Hist.* IV. 32, *castrorum spatia.*

Page 51. **1. metiaris molem manusque**: *you might gauge the labor wrought by their multitudinous hands.* Cp. *Ann.* I. 61, *Vari castra lato ambitu . . . trium legionum manus ostentabant.* Observe the alliteration and chiasmus.

2. **exitus**: *migration.* The noun in this sense is rare, e.g. Suet. *Iul.* 34, but *exire* very common. **Sescentesimum et quadragesimum**: according to the Varronian era, which Tacitus follows elsewhere (*Ann.* XI. 11), Rome was founded April 21, 754 B.C. If we suppose that the first news of the Cimbrian movement reached the city early in spring, then the 640th year was not yet completed, and this is confirmed by the use of the ordinal number and the imperfect *agebat.* If so, there will be no discrepancy between the number here given and the date of the consulships of Metellus and Carbo, for they entered upon their office on Jan. 1, 641 A.U.C., but that year was not reached till April 21, when reckoned from the founding of the city.

4. **audita**: the passive of *audio* used absolutely is post-Augustan. In T. e.g. ch. 41, 27; *Dial.* 7, 20; *Hist.* I. 76; *Ann.* IV. 23. The omission of the *Teutones*, who were defeated by Marius at Aquae Sextiae in 102 B.C., is probably due to the circumstance that T. or his authorities had failed to discover any traces of their survival, even as a *parva civitas.*

5. **alterum . . . consulatum**; i.e. Jan. 1, 98 A.D., Trajan succeeding Nerva, who died Jan. 27 of the same year. This passage fixes the date of composition of the *Germania.*

6. **ducenti ferme et decem**: i.e. from 113 B.C. to 98 A.D., or 211 years, the adverb (*about*) justifying the round number.

7. **colliguntur**: *are made out.* Cp. note *Dial.* 17, 1. **tam diu Germania vincitur**: *so long have we been conquering Germany*, the present tense implying, with a touch of sarcasm, that the Romans were as far as ever removed from actual conquest. Cp. Liv. IX. 3, 2, *quem* (sc. *Samnitem hostem*) *per annos iam prope triginta vincimus.* Such boasts seem to have been very common. See esp. Augustus in the *Monum. Ancyr.* V. 26, and Vell. Pat. II. 96 f. 104 ff.

8. **Medio . . . spatio**: *within the space of this long period.* **multa in vicem damna**: sc. *fuerunt*, *in vicem* (on both sides) taking the place of an attributive adjective; it is as such always in medial position. Cp. *Hist.* I. 65, *multae in vicem clades;* IV. 37, *magnisque in vicem cladibus;* and note ch. 8, 17.

9. **Non Samnis**: the three Samnite wars lasted from 343–341, 327–304, 298–290; in these the disaster of the Caudine Forks in 321 B.C. stands out most prominently, the entire Roman army being compelled to pass under the yoke. **non Poeni**: more particularly the second or Hannibalic war (218–201), signalized by the defeat of the

Romans at Ticinus, the Trebia, Lake Trasimene, and above all Cannae (216 B.C.). **non Hispaniae**: the reference is to the severe losses sustained by the Romans in the Celtiberian and Lusitanian revolts, under Viriathus, and before Numantia (154–139 B.C.). **Galliaeve**: as Caesar's campaigns are referred to below, the allusion is here more probably to the battle of the Allia, the sack of Rome (390–389 B.C.), the Gallic wars during 238–236 and 226–222, particularly the bloody battle of Clusium (225 B.C.), though this latter eventually ended with a Roman victory. The change from the singular to the plural, from the names of people to the names of countries, is a Tacitean device to avoid monotony. Cp. esp. *Ann.* II. 60, *Libya Aethiopia Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scytha potitum.*

10. ne Parthi quidem: Rome's struggles with Parthia, begun under Caesar, had practically come to an end in the reign of Augustus. *ne . . . quidem* often closes an anaphoric or asyndetic enumeration, e.g. ch. 28, 24; *Dial.* 40, 14. **saepius admonuere**: *sounded a more frequent alarm;* the verb is used absolutely, as here, also *Ann.* XV. 45.

11. regno: *despotism.* The word is never used by Tacitus except of barbarian monarchies. **Arsacis**: the founder of the Parthian dynasty in 256 B.C., which lasted till 226 A.D., when it was supplanted by the Sassanidae, the name having assumed a titular meaning, as Caesar. Note the chiasmus. **acrior**: *has a keener edge.*

12. caedem Crassi: M. Crassus, the triumvir, was cruelly put to death by the Parthians at the battle of Carrhae (in Mesopotamia), June 9, 53 B.C. **et ipse**, *likewise*, belongs to *Oriens*, as if the ablative absolute were an aorist active participle in the nominative (καὶ αὐτὸς Πάκορον ἀπολέσας). This usage, extremely rare elsewhere, occurs repeatedly in Tacitus. Cp. note *Agr.* 25, 7, *diviso et ipse . . . exercitu.*

13. Pacŏro: *Pacorus*, the fourteenth of the Arsacid dynasty, son of Orodes, the ally of Brutus and Cassius, was defeated and slain by Ventidius in 38 B.C., according to tradition on the very day of Crassus' death. **infra Ventidium**: *P. Ventidius Bassus*, at one time a muleteer, became pontifex maximus, praetor, and finally consul in 44 B.C., through the influence of Caesar. As *legatus* of Antony he secured a triumph over the Parthians, and on his death was honored with a public funeral. Tacitus means to say that the Orient more than atoned for the murder of Crassus, by the loss of Pacorus, and by being, as an additional humiliation, trodden under foot by a man of Ventidius' antecedents. **obiecerit**: *can cast into our teeth.*

14. Carbone: *Cn. Papirius Carbo* was defeated by the Cimbri at Noreia (Illyria), in 113 B.C. The next defeat of *M. Iunius Silanus*, in 109 B.C., is here omitted, because it was insignificant in comparison with the others (Liv. *Epit.* 65, *adversus Cimbros infeliciter pugnavit*); in fact, Eutrop. IV. 27, represents it as a victory. **Cassio**: *L. Cassius Longinus* was killed by the Tigurini, a Helvetian tribe, allies of the Cimbri, in 107 B.C., and his army sent under the yoke. **Scauro Aurelio**: *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, the *legatus* of Mallius, was taken prisoner by the Cimbrian king Boiorix, and put to death in 106 B.C. On the transposition of the cognomen, see notes *Dial.* 1, 1, and *Agr.* 2, 17. **Servilio Caepione Gnaeoque Mallio**: *C. Servilius Caepio* and *Cn. Mallius Maximus*, consuls in 106 and 105, respectively, were separately defeated in 105 at Arausio (the modern Orange, on the Rhone), one of the most appalling disasters which Rome ever sustained, even though the statement that 120.000 were slain be grossly exaggerated.

15. quinque: not strictly accurate, for Scaurus was but a *legatus* who commanded only a detachment of the consular army.

16. simul: *one after another*, i.e. in such rapid succession (113–105) as to appear like one continuous war. Cp. e.g. Liv. VI. 4, 1. *trium simul bellorum victor* (sc. Camillus). **populo Romano**: *the Roman republic*, as opposed to *Caesari*, an emperor. In this sense again, *Hist.* I. 1, *dum res populi Romani memorabantur;* but elsewhere in Tacitus, to whom this usage seems to be peculiar, *vetus* or *prior* is added. So *Ann.* I. 1; IV. 32; XI. 24.

17. Caesari: the mention of Varus and Divus Julius, below, left no doubt to any Roman reader that Augustus was meant here. Julius Caesar is styled by Tacitus either *Divus Iulius* or *dictator Caesar*, except *Hist.* III. 66, *non a Caesare Pompeium, non Augusto Antonium*, where the antithesis and the context prevented any ambiguity.

18. C. Marius in Italia: the reference is particularly to the battle at Vercellae in 101, for the defeat of the Teutons in 102 took place in Gaul, at Aquae Sextiae. **Divus Iulius in Gallia**: Tacitus had specially in mind the campaigns against Ariovistus (58), the Nervii (57), and the Tencteri and Usipi (55). All these battles, though resulting in decisive victories, were won only at the cost of much Roman blood (*nec impune*).

19. Drusus: brother of Tiberius and father of Germanicus, conducted a vigorous campaign in Germany, from 12–9 B.C. See note ch. 34, 27. **Nero**: the name borne by Tiberius before he ascended the

throne in 14 A.D. He fought the Germans during the years 9 B.C.–11 A.D. **Germanicus**: in Germany, from 14–16 A.D. His encounters with the Germans are narrated by Tacitus in *Ann.* I. 34–51. 56–71; II. 6–26.

20. mox: *subsequently*, i.e. 40 A.D. **ingentes Gai Caesaris . . . versae**: on this mock campaign of Caligula, see *Agr.* 13, 23 ff.; *Hist.* IV. 15, *Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium*; Suet. *Calig.* 43 ff.; Dio Cass. LIX. 21.

21. Inde: on the ellipsis usual with these particles, cp. note ch. 9, 29. **otium**: i.e. relatively, when compared with the vigorous expeditions of former years. Cp. *Ann.* XI. 18 ff.; XII. 27 ff.; XIII. 53 ff. **occasione discordiae**, etc.: i.e. 69–70 A.D., the *longum et unum annum*, which comprised the struggles of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian.

22. civilium armorum: added, by way of nearer definition, to *discordiae*. See *Introd.* p. lxviii. **expugnatis . . . hibernis**: viz. Castra Vetera, on the lower Rhine, near the modern Xanten, which was captured in the Batavian revolt under Civilis in 69–70. Cp. *Hist.* IV. 12 ff.; 54 ff.; V. 14 ff.

23. Gallias adfectavere: sc. *Germani*; *reached out for*, *coveted*. With the expression, cp. e.g. *Hist.* IV. 17, *Galliarum societatem Civilis . . . adfectabat.* **inde**: here used in a local, immediately above, in a temporal sense. **pulsi**: viz. by Petilius Cerealis in 70 A.D.

24. proximis temporibus: i.e. in the reign of Domitian, who, though not present in person, celebrated a triumph over the Chatti in 83 A.D. Cp. note *Agr.* 39, 19. Tacitus intentionally avoids the mention of the hated despot wherever possible. Cp. note ch. 29, 17; 32, 29. **triumphati**, etc.: the transitive use of this verb is first found in Vergil (e.g. *Georg.* III. 33; *Aen.* VI. 836), thereafter quite frequently, both in poetry and prose; in Tacitus, e.g. *Ann.* XII. 19. With the epigrammatic phrase, cp. Florus, IV. 12, 30, *Germani victi magis quam domiti erant*, a possible reminiscence of this passage.

Chapter 38. **25. Suebis**: Caesar, *B. G.* IV. 1, 3, and Strabo, VII. 1, 3, while agreeing with Tacitus in regarding the Suebi as the most numerous of the Germanic tribes, did not as yet recognize their composite character. The vast extent assigned to them in the *Germania* may be due partially to the great Suebic confederacy under Maroboduus in the reign of Tiberius, which embraced many non-Suebic tribes, partly to the fact that the vagueness of the name itself (it means *wanderers*) easily lent itself to a generic designation. The following

passage seems to intimate a process of expansion similar to that of *Germani* (ch. 2, 14), the name of a single tribe gradually spreading to many others, while the original names reasserted themselves at various times to the total or partial extinction of the generic appellation. This would also account for the fact that the Suebi, described by Caesar, seem to be none other than the Chatti and Semnones.

26. maiorem . . . obtinent: i.e. the territory between the Danube and the Baltic, exclusive of the Vandilii. See map. In these geographical chapters Tacitus is clearly following different authorities from those in ch. 2.

27. adhuc . . . discreti: *moreover . . . distinguished.* **nationibus nominibusque**: *tribal designations.*

28. in commune . . . vocentur: *their generic name is.*

Page 52. **1. Insigne**: *a distinctive characteristic.* So ch. 44, 10. **obliquare**, etc.: *comb back the hair in a slant and tie it in a knot below*, i.e. at the back of the head. The same custom is ascribed to the Germans in general, by Sen. *de ira*, III. 26, 3; *Epist.* 124, 22. It was doubtless originally pan-Germanic, but was retained only by the Suebi.

2. sic Suebi, etc.: there is no reason for questioning the truth of this statement, for Tacitus is not here contrasting the *long* hair of the German freeman with the close-cropped hair of the slave, but he merely emphasizes the peculiar hairdress as such.

4. quod saepe accidit: a remark of general application regarding imitation as the cause of many existing customs.

5. rarum, etc.: an extremely condensed expression for *horrentem . . . retorquere . . . religare in aliis gentibus rarum et quidem solum intra . . . spatium, apud Suebos usque . . . canitiem mos est.* On the use of *rarum* as an appositive, here equivalent to *raro usurpatum*, see note ch. 31, 10. **apud Suebos**: elsewhere in T. *apud* with a proper name invariably has a purely local meaning.

6. horrentem capillum: *fear-inspiring hairdress.* On the metonymy, see note ch. 36, 17.

7. in ipso vertice religant: probably substituted by old men whose hair was no longer sufficiently long for the *nodo substringere*; but some figures on the column of Trajan, possibly Suebic auxiliaries, have this same hairdress. **ornatiorem**: sc. *verticem*, *headgear*, not *capillum*, for to tie the hair in a knot cannot well be styled *ornatus*, particularly by the side of *horrentem.* Cp. esp. Amm. Marc. XVI. 12, 24, of Chnodomarius a King of *Suebic* ancestry, *cuius vertici flammeus*

torulus (*a red-colored tuft of hair or feathers*) *aptabatur*. Some such highly colored ornaments are probably alluded to here.

8. Ea = *id*, *in this respect*, by attraction; i.e. so far do they bestow care upon their external appearance. Probably T. wrote *eo*. **innoxia**: *harmless*, a term justified by the following.

9. ament amenturque: as was the case with the *jeunesse dorée* of Rome. The combination of an active and passive is an idiomatic way of expressing reciprocal or mutual relations. Cp. e.g. Catull. XLV. 20, *mutuis animis amant amantur;* Cic. *Cat.* II. 10, 22 f., *hi pueri tam lepidi, tam delicati amare et amari didicerunt;* Phaedr. II. 2, 1, *ament, amentur;* and ch. 19, 15. **(sed) in**: adversative asyndeton. See *Introd.* p. lxvii.

10. comptius hostium oculis: i.e. *non ut Romani feminarum oculis se ornant.* Cp. Cic. *Cat.* l.c.

Chapter 39. **11. Sĕmnŏnes**: Tacitus says nothing about their geographical location, but we know from other authors that they inhabited the territory between the Oder and the Elbe, the modern Brandenburg, with parts of Saxony and Silesia. Subsequently they settled about the Neckar region and the upper Danube. They are the ancestors of the modern Suabians (Würtemberg).

12. memorant: for a similar boast, see *Agr.* 30, 21. **fides**: *the truth.* Tacitus or his sources had no evidence to substantiate this claim to nobility, for the good fortune and multitude of the Semnones (l. 22 ff.) clearly do not prove this; but their antiquity seemed to him, albeit by a false inference, to be well established. The fact, moreover, that a curious religious rite common to the Suebic race was localized in their territory is taken as a proof of its origin among them, and hence of their own antiquity. **religione**: *a sacred rite.* So ch. 43, 24; *Ann.* XIII. 10; XV. 23, for the religious beliefs of barbarians Tacitus styled *superstitio*, as below, l. 20. Cp. note ch. 9, 1. **Stato tempore**: viz. the end of September and beginning of October.

13. silvam: probably the Spreewald, the Σημανὰ ὕλη of Ptolemaeus. **auguriis . . . sacram**: an hexameter, occasioned by the elevated tone of the passage. Cp. Arist. *Poet.* 4, ἑξάμετρα δὲ ὀλιγάκις (sc. λέγομεν) καὶ ἐκβαίνοντες τῆς λεκτικῆς ἁρμονίας. Here it occurs in the middle of a period, and gives no complete sense. Its metre would not, therefore, even if perfect, have been noticed by Roman ears, provided the sentence were properly read; and this applies to most rhythmical lines in Latin prose. The present verse, not being a *poetic*

quotation, is, however, faulty, as in prose *patrum* and *sacram* would be pronounced *pă-trum*, *să-cram*. For other rhythmical lines, cp. 18, 30, *bellorum . . . incipientis;* 32, 31, *praecellunt*, . . . *laus;* 46, 8, *hi . . . referuntur*. Cp. also note *Agr.* 10, 14; and, for the poetical coloring, Verg. *Aen.* VII. 170, *tectum horrendum silvis et religione parentum;* VIII. 597, *religione sacrae et saevi formidine Martis.*

14. omnes eiusdem sanguinis: probably the Herminones, not all the Suebi, for *sanguis* connotes a much closer relationship than *gens*, the three divisions given in ch. 2, 7, being so many cult unions. **legationibus**: the instrumental ablative for *per legationes*. This construction, though very common, is perhaps not elsewhere found in Tacitus with *persons* and an *active* verb, *Ann.* II. 79, and *Agr.* 30. 4, being only apparent exceptions.

15. caesoque publice homine: a slave, or captive, or convicted criminal. On human sacrifices among the Germans, see note ch. 9. 27. *Caeso* is used in an aoristic sense, as in ch. 39, 15. *Publice*, either *in the name of the state*, *officially*, as in ch. 15, 15, or *openly, in the sight of all*, as contrasted with ch. 40, 15 ff.; the latter is preferable, for that sacrifices at great religious festivals were performed *publice* is self-evident. **barbari . . . primordia**: *the appalling preliminaries of the inhuman ritual*, *barbari* being here used in a sense very common elsewhere, but in Tacitus only here.

16. luco: ablative of place where, as often in Tacitus. Cp. ch. 10, 18. **reverentia**: *religious ceremony.*

17. vinculo: as a symbol of submission to the deity. **minor**: *an inferior.* **et**: *and as such*, another instance of the epexegetic use of *et.*

18. prae se ferens: *attesting, outwardly exhibiting.* **adtolli . . . evolvuntur**: *to lift oneself up . . . they roll themselves out.* The passive as a middle is especially common in Tacitus with verbs of motion, as *vertere*, *advolvere*, and the like.

20. tamquam here introduces a substantive clause. Cp. note ch. 12, 22. **inde** = *ex illo luco sint* or *fuerint*. Cp. note ch. 9, 29.

21. regnator omnium deus: generally identified with Tiu or Ziu (Mars), chiefly because the later Suabians, the direct descendants of the Semnones, are once designated as *Ziuwari* (defendants of Ziu), while their capital *Augsburg* was also known as *Ziesburg*. This may be true, but it seems not to have been the belief of Tacitus, for he expressly says that no human sacrifices were offered up to this deity.

See note ch. 9, 28. The difficulty would be solved, if we supposed that here, and in *Ann.* XIII. 57, he was following different sources. *Regnator* is exceedingly common in poetry, but is found in prose only here; but *regnatrix*, also as an adjective, occurs *Ann.* I. 4. Cp. note ch. 14, 29. *Omnium* = *omnium rerum.* Cp. 45, 8. So often in Tacitus. See notes *Dial.* 19, 8; *Agr.* 41, 1.

22. Adicit auctoritatem: sc. *nobilitatis*, i.e. lends color to their claim of being *nobilissimi*, a much weaker expression than *fides . . . firmatur* above, where see note. **centum pagis habitant**: the same statement is made of the Suebi in general by Caes. *B. G.* I. 37, 3; IV. 1, 4. It seems to have been a stereotyped formula to designate a populous tribe. With the intransitive use of *habitare*, cp. *Ann.* II. 60; IV. 65.

23. corpore: *multitude.* So often. In Tacitus, again, *Hist.* IV. 64. Cp. our a 'body of men.' Here the term was probably suggested by *caput.*

24. caput: *at the head.* Cp. *Hist.* I. 5. 84; IV. 69. The entire phrase is a mere variation of *nobilissimos . . . memorant.*

Chapter 40. **25. Langŏbardos**: of the seventy tribes cited in this treatise only the Langobardi, Anglii (ch. 40. 28), and Gotones (ch. 44. 7) were destined to play an important rôle in later European history. The Langobardi are first mentioned by Vell. Pat. II. 106. 2, as having been defeated by Tiberius. They subsequently revolted from Maroboduus and joined the Cherusci under Arminius. In the 5th century, over-population seems to have led to their migration from the regions of the lower Elbe, and in 568 they founded the famous Lombard kingdom in upper Italy, which lasted till the time of Charles the Great. The etymology, as of almost all German tribal names, is doubtful, some interpreting *-bard* as *beard*, others as *axes*, the latter being not improbable. The modern village, *Bardowieck*, near Lüneburg, is supposed to preserve the name. **paucitas nobilitat**: i.e. as contrasted with the multitude of the Semnones, and showing at the same time that mere numerical strength, upon which the Semnones based their claim to *nobilitas*, is not sufficient to prove this. See note above, ch. 39, 12. **plurimis . . . cincti**: Tacitus' information concerning the location and characteristics of these northern and northwestern tribes was of the vaguest description; the present phrase must, therefore, not be too closely pressed. Among the *valentissimae nationes*, according to Tacitus' own description, only

the Chauci and the Semnones, but not the Cherusci, can be here understood.

26. per obsequium: like the Cherusci, for example.

27. proeliis ac periclitando: *by arms and aggression.* On the alliterative grouping, see *Introd.* p. lxviii, and on the favorite Tacitean collocation of a *per* clause with an ablative, see *ibid.* p. lxx. Vell. Pat. *l.c.* styles the Langobardi *gens etiam Germana feritate ferocior*, and their later history in a measure confirms this statement. **Reudigni**: on the location of these small tribes, of whom, with the exception of the Anglii and Varini, the ancients knew as little as we do, see map. **deinde** in a local sense, occurs in Tacitus only here, ch. 42, 1; 44, 9, and is generally rare, e.g. Liv. XXII. 4, 2, but *dein* is very commonly so used.

28. Aviŏnes: not elsewhere mentioned. **Anglii**: the same who, under Hengist and Horsa in the 5th century, invaded Britain. Ethnologically they seem to have belonged to the same *gens* as the **Varīni**, the *Warni* of later times. They are probably identical with the Thuringians in middle Germany, whence they migrated to the Schleswig peninsula, the Anglii having, it would seem, preceded them. This hypothesis would plausibly account for the title of their oldest law: *lex Angliorum et Werinorum, hoc est Thuringorum.* **Eudōses**: unless the order followed by Tacitus is quite haphazard, which is incompatible with the systematic plan of these geographical chapters, his authorities or map must have placed this tribe south, not north, of the Anglii and Varini. They are generally identified with the later Jutes and supposed to be the same as the Φουνδούσιοι of Ptolemaeus, who locates them near the Cimbri (see map); but there is no evidence for either of these identifications. **Suardŏnes**: a wholly unknown tribe, the very name being variously given in the Mss. Its location is, therefore, purely conjectural.

Page 53. **1. Vitŏnes**: according to others, *Nuithones*, but this name is also hopelessly corrupted in our Mss. Polysyndetic *et*, more than twice repeated, is rare in Tacitus and exclusively confined to the minor works. Cp. note *Dial.* 10, 14. **fluminibus aut silvis**: so combined again, *Ann.* II. 19. The phrase is peculiarly applicable to the regions where we must suppose these tribes to have dwelt. **Nec quicquam . . . in conmune**: slightly illogical, for we expect either *nec . . . in illis, nisi quod*, or *nec . . . in singulis, sed in conmune.* Cp. ch. 27, 1 ff.; *Ann.* III. 27, *non modo in conmune, sed in singulos homines.*

2. Nĕrthum: probably the sister of the Norse god of fertility, *Njördr*, though her name does not occur in extant sources, that of the male deity being also very rare. They were the parents of *Freyr* and *Freya* (see note ch. 9, 28), who seem to have displaced them in the Norse mythology. The Phrygian *magna mater Idaea*, also called *Terra mater* (cp. Lucret. II. 657), came to be identified by the *interpretatio Romana* with this northern goddess, owing to certain ritualistic features which their worship shared in common, such as the triumphal procession of the deity in a chariot drawn by sacred cows, the ablution of the divine symbol, and the wagon corresponding to the Roman *lavatio* of the goddess and her car; see below, l. 14. This ceremony took place annually, on March 27, and its Germanic counterpart, representing the combined cult of the Ingaevonic peoples (see note ch. 2, 7), was in all likelihood also a spring festival. The solemnity of this ancient rite is admirably reflected in the rhetorical elaboration of the passage, marked especially by anaphora and asyndeton.

4. invehi with dative is post-Augustan usage, here probably due to a desire for symmetry with *intervenire rebus*. Cp. note ch. 16, 30. **populis**: i.e. as represented by the *legationes* mentioned above. **insula**: the island cannot be identified. Most scholars suppose Alsen in the Baltic Sea to be meant, but Müllenhoff advocates the site of Hamburg, which was originally an island.

5. castum: *hallowed*, a poetic epithet of a grove or forest as yet untouched by the axe or not put to any profane uses. Cp. Hor. *Carm.* I. 12, 59, and esp. Lucan, III. 399 ff.

6. veste: doubtless of white color. Cp. ch. 10, 9. **adtingere**, etc.: i.e. at the initiatory ceremony, for subsequently the slaves must also have touched the car.

7. penetrali: *the inmost shrine*, the holiest of the holy, here represented more particularly by the chariot. **vectamque**: aoristic. Cp. note ch. 39, 15, and Catull. CI., 1, *multa per aequora vectus*; Verg. *Aen.* VI. 335. **bubus feminis**: a Roman ritualistic expression for *vaccis*. The use of cattle proves such ceremonies to have been of hoary antiquity. Cp. Herod. I. 31, in the story of Cleobis and Biton, οἱ δέ σφι βόες . . . οὐ παρεγίνοντο; Verg. *Georg.* III. 532 f., *quaesitas ad sacra boves . . . ductos currus*, of the Argive Juno. The same practice survived in public processions among the Merovingian kings, in the 6th century.

8. multa cum: with *multus*, the anastrophe of the preposition is

the invariable rule in Tacitus. **prosequitur**: on the meaning, see note ch. 30, 25.

9. festa loca = *ea loca sunt festa, those places are in holiday attire;* the predicate adjective, as also *laeti*, is in attributive position. See *Introd.* p. lxvi, and, on the ellipsis of the demonstrative pronoun, *ibid.* p. lxix. **adventu hospitioque**: *by her visit and subsequent acceptance of their hospitality.* The *-que* is epexegetic. See also ch. 2, 13.

10. non arma sumunt: not a mere repetition of the preceding, as is shown also by the anaphora, for the Germans habitually wore arms, even in times of peace. Cp. ch. 11, 15; 13, 31; 22, 31.

11. pax et quies: here the former denotes freedom from war, the latter freedom from internal or civil feuds. On the frequent collocation of these terms, see note ch. 14, 24. This corresponds to the Truce or Peace of God in the Middle Ages. **tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata**: *are conditions known only then, aye only then actually liked;* for the former does not necessarily imply the latter. Cp. ch. 15, 11. The very unusual double anaphora makes the statement especially emphatic.

12. satiatam: *as if satisfied.* **conversatione mortalium**: *association with human affairs*, with reference to *intervenire rebus hominum* (l. 3), hence also *mortalium* = *mortalium rerum.* On this usage, cp. note ch. 39, 21. *Conversatio*, a post-Augustan word, is extremely rare in the sense here called for by the context. Cp. Plin. *N. H.* X. 33, 51, 100. Tac. *Ann.* XII. 49; but in *Dial.* 9, 24, probably = *sermo familiaris.*

13. templo = *penetrali, the sacred precinct.* On this meaning of the word (for the Germans had no temples proper), see note ch. 9, 2.

14. si credere velis, etc.: a popular belief, fostered by the priests, held to the actual presence of the deity. Such qualifying phrases are particularly common in Tacitus. Cp. note *Dial.* 12, 19. **numen ipsum**: as the Germans are said to have had no idols or *imagines*, the *numen* was, in all probability, a *signum*, or symbol. Cp. note ch. 9, 2 f. **secreto**: *secluded*, removed from human habitation. So often used in Tacitus. Cp. note ch. 35, 9. **abluitur**: on such purificatory rites connected with the *Terra mater*, cp. Ovid, *Fast.* IV. 339, *sacerdos Almonis Dominam sacraque lavit aquis;* Amm. Marc. XXIII. 3, 7, *carpentum quo vehitur simulacrum Almonis undis ablui perhibetur;* and Theocr. XV. 132 ff. (of Adonis).

15. ministrant, like *minister* and *ministerium*, is the regular word for sacrificial service. **lacus haurit**: recourse is had to a miracle to

allay any suspicion as to the probability of *one* priest doing away with a number of slaves. Probably there were more than one present, but the death penalty was a precautionary measure to prevent the fraud which they practised upon the people from being divulged by the *servi*, the sacrifice of human victims being, doubtless, represented as an essential part of the ritual, as in the Herminonic ceremonial of the Semnones. Cp. ch. 39. The priests thus secured necessary help, and at the same time were free from all suspicion of foul play.

16. hinc: *hence arises.* On the ellipsis, see note ch. 9, 29. **ignorantia**: the desire to secure an effective close has involved Tacitus in a slight inconsistency, for he had just said that the people did not consider themselves in the dark, believing *illud*, etc., to be *numen ipsum.* **quid sit illud**: the indirect question depends upon the verb implied in *ignorantia.*

Chapter 41. **18. Et . . . quidem . . . ⟨sed⟩ propior**: this ellipsis of *sed* after *et . . . quidem* is especially common in Tacitus.

19. quo modo . . . sic for *ut . . . ita* (*sic*), is of frequent occurrence in Tacitus, but it was here particularly used to avoid the repetition of *ut.* **paulo ante**: viz. ch. 32 ff.

20. Rhenum: sc. *secutus sum*, to be supplied out of *sequar.* On this ellipsis, cp. note ch. 36, 21. **Hĕrmŭndŭrorum**: for their location, see map. Originally they dwelt somewhat further north, the Elbe separating them from the Semnones. After the Marcomanic war (176 A.D.), they disappear from history, being assimilated by the Thuringians. As the name seems to imply, they belong to the *Herminones* (see ch. 2).

21. non in ripa . . . sed = *non ⟨solum⟩ in ripa* (sc. *Danuvii*) *. . . sed ⟨etiam⟩.* This ellipsis is, perhaps, more frequent in Tacitus than in previous writers. The omission of any mention of the Raetian *limes*, on which they in reality bordered, is probably due to the fact that this part of the frontier fortifications had not yet been finished when the *Germania* was written.

22. penitus: *far beyond*, deep inland on the other side of the river. **atque** etc.: a concrete statement, added to define the vague expression *penitus.* Cp. *Introd.* p. lxviii. **splendidissima . . . colonia**: *Augusta Vindelicorum*, the modern Augsburg, founded by Augustus about 12 A.D. Strictly speaking, it was a *municipium*, not a *colonia;* but by the time of Tacitus these terms were used promiscuously in the sense of *oppidum* or *civitas.*

23. Passim : *at random.* **sine custode** : unlike the Tencteri, whose complaints are recorded in Tac. *Hist.* IV. 64 f., *flumina ac . . . terras clauserant Romani ut . . . inermes ac prope nudi sub custode et pretio coiremus . . . onera conmerciorum resolvimus* (sc. Agrippinenses). *Sint transitus incustoditi.*

25. non concupiscentibus : as men who would not be eager to seize upon them *raptu et latrocinio*, like other German tribes.

26. In Hermunduris Albis oritur : as the actual source of the Elbe is in Bohemia, the authorities of Tacitus probably mistook the *Saale*, one of its tributaries, for the main stream. The Elbe was discovered by the elder *Drusus* in 9 B.C., was crossed by *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* a few years later, and in 5 A.D. *Tiberius* entered its mouth. Thereafter no Roman seems to have come within sight of the stream.

27. inclutum et notum : *talked about and known*, i.e. by exploration. **auditur** : *a mere name.*

Page 54. Chapter 42. **1. Iuxta** : i.e. toward the East. **Văristi** : presumably a branch of the Marcomani which remained in the old territory when the latter emigrated. **deinde** : in a local sense. Cp. note ch. 40, 27. **Marcŏmăni** : the dwellers on the mark, i.e. the southern border of the Hercynian forest. This is one of the few names of Germanic tribes whose etymology is reasonably certain. They first appear in the army of Ariovistus (Caes. *B. G.* I. 51, 2). After considerable shifting, they settled in Bohemia, where Maroboduus, in combination with other Suebic tribes, founded a great confederacy, which proved very formidable to the Romans. In the 2d century, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, they invaded Roman territory, thus inaugurating the movement which finally led to the downfall of the Western Empire. Their name disappears after the 4th century.

2. Quădi : see map. They are generally mentioned together with the Marcomani. **agunt** : *dwell*, as in ch. 43, 20. **Praecipua** : sc. *est.* In Tacitus this adjective all but invariably precedes its noun even when used as a predicate adjective. Here it agrees with the nearer substantive. **vires** : *military resources.* Maroboduus is said to have had an army of 70,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry, of whom the bulk must have been Marcomani.

3. atque ipsa etiam : *and likewise.* Tacitus habitually uses *et ipse* in this sense ; but here, as in *Hist.* I. 6, *Ann.* VI. 3, *atque et* would

have been awkward. **pulsis olim Boiis**: i.e. 60 B.C. Tacitus is generally supposed to have been in error here, as the Marcomani had at that time not yet migrated from their ancestral seats; but had the author meant to imply this, he would have joined *olim* with *virtute parta*. Cp. also note ch. 28, 12. Who the occupants of the former Boian territory were is not known; possibly some remnants of the Cimbri, who had driven out the Boii.

4. parta: sc. *est*. On the chiasmus of the predicates at the beginning and end, cp. note ch. 19, 6. **Quadive degenerant**: sc. *a virtute Marcomanorum*, as is not surprising in view of their probable kinship. Of their prowess, Amm. Marc. XXIX. 6. 1, perhaps with reference to the period spoken of by Tacitus, says: *Quadorum natio parum nunc* (4th century) *formidanda, sed, inmensum quantum antehac bellatrix et potens*. In the 5th century they joined the Vandals and founded a new kingdom in Spain, which was subsequently destroyed by the Visigoths. **Eaque . . . velut frons**: *these form . . . the forehead, so to speak;* i.e. they directly face the Roman provinces. *Eaque* stands by attraction for *iique*. Cp. note ch. 7, 11.

5. praecingitur: *is girdled, skirted* sc. *Germania*. So e.g. Plin. *N. H.* V. 32, 40, 143, *praecingitur gens mari*.

7. reges: e.g. Vannius, the probable successor of Tuder or Tudrus. **gente . . . genus**: the singular seems to point to the close tribal relationship of the Marcomani and Quadi. **Marŏbŏduus**: after the collapse of his Suebic confederacy in 18 A.D., he took refuge with Tiberius, who kept him in honorable confinement at Ravenna, where he died in 36 A.D. Cp. Tac. *Ann.* II. 45 f. 62 f., where his power for harm is compared by Tiberius with that of Philip of Macedon, Pyrrhus, and Antiochus the Great.

8. Tŭdri: as the context shows, the founder of a Quadian dynasty. His name is mentioned only here. **iam et externos patiuntur**: this seems to imply that when the *Germania* was written their line had become extinct. The kings mentioned by Amm. Marc. XVII. 12, 21, probably belonged to a different dynasty. The statement itself is confirmed by later inscriptions, and the practice was in accordance with an established Roman policy. Cp. *Agr.* 14, 5 ff. **vis et potentia**: on the distinction of these and similar terms, very frequently combined, see notes *Dial.* 5, 13; 19, 12.

9. Raro armis nostris: no instance of such an armed intervention is recorded.

10. saepius pecunia iuvantur : sc. *reges*. The passage in ch. 15, 16, refers to bribes by which emperors bought a humiliating peace; here the money grants are given to enable the kings to maintain Roman supremacy or to prevent hostile uprisings. **nec minus valent** : sc. *quam armis adiuti*.

Chapter 43. **11. Retro** : on the east and northeast. See map. **Marsigni** : not elsewhere cited in extant sources. **Cŏtīni** : they and the *Buri* appear in the Marcomanic war, having promising to fight on the side of the Romans against the Quadi and Marcomani. **Osi** : see note ch. 28, 15. **Būri** : Ptolemaeus regards them as a branch of the *Lugii* (see below, l. 21), and locates them near the source of the Vistula (Weichsel). They are frequently mentioned, and appear as allies of the Dacians in the time of Trajan. **terga . . . cludunt** : *bring up the rear*. Cp. ch. 34, 17 f.

13. referunt : *resemble*. See note ch. 20, 1.

14. lingua . . . quod . . . patiuntur : the noun and substantive clause are both subjects of *coarguit*. With this inconcinnity, very common in Tacitus, cp. e.g. *Hist.* III. 62, *Capitonem conruptum seu quia . . . interfecit; Ann.* VI. 9; XVI. 6. *Coarguit* with acc. and inf. is very rare, e.g. [Caes.] *Bell. Afric.* 68; Quint. IV. 2, 4.

15. Sarmatae : see note ch. 1, 2, and map.

16. quo magis pudeat : *the more's the shame*; for the iron mines, rare among Germans (see ch. 6, 4), could have furnished them with defensive weapons.

18. ceterum : *but particularly*.

19. insederunt : from *insīdĕre*. **Suebiam** : this name for the country inhabited by the *Suebi*, Σουηβοί occurs only here, ch. 45, 32, and in Cass. Dio. LV. 1, Σουηβιά.

20. ultra quod : the watershed of the Oder and the Weichsel, the modern Silesia and Poland. **plurimae** : *very many*.

21. Lŭgiorum : cp. *Ann.* XII. 29, *vis innumera, Lugii*. They are the ancestors of the Vandals and Burgundians of later times. The name is probably hieratic, representing a cult confederacy, as the Semnones among the Herminones, and perhaps the Reudigni among the Ingaevones; cp. ch. 2, 7; 39, 12 ff.; 40, 27 ff. The generic ethnological designation was probably *Vandilii*. **pluris** = *compluris*. Cp. note ch. 1, 9.

22. Harios, etc : nothing is known of these peoples, and the etymology of their names is mere guesswork.

24. religionis: *rite.* Cp. note ch. 39, 12. **Praesidet**: sc. *religioni; takes charge of the ceremony.*

25. muliebri ornatu: probably the priest was clad in a long robe and wore thicker hair like women; at least the *Hazdinge*, the name of the Vandilian royal family, means *men with woman's hair*, and the king, as in all primitive society, also exercised priestly functions. Cp. note ch. 10, 10.

26. Castorem Pollucemque: the worship of the twin brothers, or *Dioscuri*, is Indo-European, and the *interpretatio Romana* (or rather *Graeca*) is here not merely based upon accidental similarities in ritual, as in ch. 3. 17; 9, 29, for the cults were originally identical, but this was, of course, unknown to the Roman antiquarians. **Ea vis numini** = *eorum* (sc. *Castoris Pollucisque*) *vis huic quoque numini;* i.e. their characteristics belong to this Germanic divinity.

27. Alcis: probably dative, by way of symmetry with *numini;* cp. note ch. 16, 30, and Critical Appendix, ch. 36, 20. With *vocabulum*, however, we have the dative in ch. 34, 20. The name occurs only here, and its etymology is indeterminable. **Nulla simulacra**: this is in keeping with the statement in ch. 9, 2 ff. **peregrinae superstitionis**: i.e. non-Germanic worship, the designation *superstitio* implying that this cult, unlike that of *Isis*, was not regarded as having been imported. Cp. note ch. 9, 29 f. The entire passage shows that Tacitus or his authorities, while inclined to recognize the identity of the German and Roman deities, were sorely puzzled at not finding the *concrete* evidence in support of it, by which they elsewhere established their mythological parallelisms.

28. Ceterum Harii: *but to return to the Harii.* On this resumptive force of the particle, cp. note ch. 2, 11.

29. super: *over and above.* Cp. note ch. 30, 4. **paulo ante enumeratos**: viz. *Helvaeones . . . Naharvalos.*

Page 55. **1. truces**: to be closely joined to *super viris.* **arte**: *artificial devices*, explained by *nigra . . . corpora.* **tempore** = *tempore pugnandi deligendo*, viz. *atras . . . noctis.*

2. lenocinantur: *add to, enhance.* In this weakened, figurative sense the verb is post-Augustan. In Tacitus again, *Dial.* 6, 27. **nigra scuta**: on the coloring of shields, see note ch. 6, 12. **tincta corpora**: in view of Plin. *N. H.* VI. 19, 22, 70, *tinguntur sole populi, iam quidem infecti*, *tincta* is perhaps best taken as *tattooed*, not merely *painted.* Cp. also Caes. *B. G.* V. 14, 2, *omnes vero se Britanni vitro*

inficiunt quod caeruleum efficit colorem atque hoc horridiores sunt in pugna adspectu. **atras**, etc. : so again, *Hist.* V. 22; and of the Thracians, *Ann.* IV. 48.

3. formidine atque umbra: on the collocation of the abstract and concrete, see note ch. 1, 2. **feralis**, etc. : cp. *Ann.* II. 31, *feralibus tenebris.* Translate: *by the very awe-inspiring and gloomy appearance of a spectral army they instil terror.*

4. nullo hostium: for *nullo hoste*, the quasi-partitive genitive being especially common in poetry and in Tacitus, e.g. ch. 44, 16; *Hist.* I. 38. 55. **novum**: *novel, astonishing.* See note ch. 31, 23.

5. velut infernum: *as it were, hellish.* With the entire passage may be compared the description of Corbulo's encounter with the Britons, on the island of Mona (Anglesea), in 61 A.D.: *in modum Furiarum veste ferali . . . faces praeferebant . . . novitate adspectus perculere militem* (Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 30). **primi**: for *primum*, is more emphatic. So often e.g. *Agr.* 24, 32; *Hist.* I. 76.

Chapter 44. **7. Trans . . . regnantur**, an elliptical phrase for *trans Lugios Gotones agunt et quidem regnantur.* **Gŏtōnes**: the Goths. At the beginning of their illustrious career in history, about the 4th century, they appear on the Danube, their southern migration dating back to the 3d century. **paulo iam adductius**: *with a somewhat firmer hold*, i.e. more absolutely. The metaphor is taken from driving. Cp. Cic. *de Am.* 13, 45, *habenas habere amicitiae quas vel adducas . . . vel remittas;* Tac. *Hist.* III. 7, *adductius . . . imperitabat; Ann.* XII. 7, *adductum . . . servitium.*

8. ceterae . . . gentes: sc. *quae regnantur.* **nondum . . . libertatem**: *not yet beyond a point incompatible with freedom*, i.e. it was not an absolute monarchy.

9. Protinus deinde ab Oceano: *immediately following these on the shores of the Baltic.* **Rūgii**: the race seems not to have been of pure Germanic stock, if not actually Slavic. At least *Rügen*, the name of an island in the Baltic, generally supposed to be identical with that of the tribe, is derived from a Slavic word.

10. Lemovii: not elsewhere mentioned. **Omniumque harum**: probably only those just enumerated, although the following statement may well have been applicable to all the Suebic tribes. **rotunda scuta**: the shields of the western Germanic tribes were usually large and rectangular.

11. breves gladii: such are depicted on the Antonine column.

and in the description of Ariovistus' forces, which included a large Suebic contingent, mention is made of both long and short swords. Cp. Cass. Dio, XXXVIII. 49. **et erga reges obsequium**: on the peculiarly Tacitean use of *et* after an asyndeton, see note ch. 30, 25. *Obsequium* is a quasi-technical term for submission to established authority. Cp. e.g. *Dial.* 41, 12, *in obsequium regentis paratos; Agr.* 42, 25. Tacitus (or his authority) here betrays his relative ignorance concerning the Germans of the East by his inability to point out more detailed and significant distinctions from those in the West. In fact, his narrative from here to the close becomes ever more vague and obscure, or purely fabulous.

12. Suionum: the modern Swedes. Here, however, as *civitates* shows, it must be taken in a wider sense, namely, of the entire population of Scandinavia. **hinc**: *a Rugiis et Lemoviis*, toward the north or northwest. **ipso in Oceano**: either contrasted with *ab Oceano* or else it may refer to the notion, entertained down to the Middle Ages, that Scandinavia was an island. The former interpretation is perhaps preferable. **viros armaque**: *armed forces.* This hendiadys is frequent in Tacitus and elsewhere; but here it more particularly means *infantry*, as opposed to *classibus.* It should be observed that the grossly exaggerated accounts of the huge size and population of Scandinavia, found e.g. in Pomp. Mela, III. 6, 54, Plin. *N. H.* IV. 13, 27, 96, and still reiterated for centuries later, are significantly ignored by Tacitus.

13. differt: sc. *a forma Romanarum navium.*

14. utrimque prora: vessels in which the bow and stern were built alike were also known to the Greeks by the name δίπρωροι, or δίπρυμνοι. Similar ships, with steering gear at each end, were built by Germanicus (*Ann.* II. 6), by the Veneti (Caes. *B. G.* III. 13), and by the barbarians on the Euxine, as described in *Hist.* III. 47. They are in use to this day in Norway, being particularly serviceable in narrow waterways, where a vessel could not be turned around. **adpulsui frontem agit**: *present the bow for landing.*

15. velis ministrant: sc. *naves; handle their vessels by means of sails.* The phrase is Vergilian, *ministrare* being used for *administrare.* Cp. *Aen.* VI. 302, *ipse ratem . . . velisque ministrat;* X. 218; Val. Flacc. *Argon.* III. 38. The old Norse sagas confirm this statement, and the vessels of the *Angli*, on their invasion of Britain, are also said to have had no sails. **in ordinem**: *to secure a regular order.* The final use of *in* with the accusative is exceedingly common in Tacitus.

16. solutum : i.e. the oars were not fixed in oar-locks, but could be shifted as occasion demanded. **quibusdam fluminum** = *q. fluminibus.* So e.g. *Dial.* 21, 15, *q. antiquorum; Agr.* 37, 29, *hostium . . . quidam*, and very frequently in the larger works. Cp. also note ch. 43, 4.

17. hinc vel illinc remigium : *they row now on this, now on that side.*

18. et opibus honos : *even wealth is in repute among them*, in contradistinction to the indifference attributed to the Germans generally, in ch. 5, 22. **eoque unus imperitat** : some such theory of the origin of monarchical institutions seems to be implied in Lucret. V. 1114 ff., *quod* (sc. *divitiae*) *facile et validis et pulchris dempsit honorem; Divitioris enim sectam plerumque secuntur Quamlubet et fortes et pulchro corpore creti.* **nullis iam exceptionibus** : *no longer with any restrictions*, such as limited the sovereign or *princeps* in other German communities. Cp. ch. 7, 30; 11, 13 ff., and above, l. 8.

19. non precario iure parendi : *with a right to exact obedience not based on sufferance*, the genitive of the substantival gerund being equivalent to a Greek articular infinitive (τοῦ πείθεσθαι). *Precarius* is often used of something contingent and transitory, as opposed to what is inalienable and permanent. Cp. *Hist.* I. 52, *precarium seni imperium et brevi transiturum.* The witnesses upon which Tacitus' account is ultimately based probably became acquainted with the Suiones at their great religious festival, which occurred every nine years, and, as the king was also the chief priest, they may easily have carried away an exaggerated impression of his absolute power.

20. in promiscuo : *in everybody's hands.* **clausa** : i.e. during the peace which prevailed at religious festivals. Cp. ch. 40, 10 f. Tacitus' sources probably mistook this fact for the regular custom, and he was thence misled into thinking that it was a despot's device to prevent revolution.

21. et quidem servo : *and a slave at that.* This is explained by *enimvero*, etc., below, the intervening *quia* clause giving two reasons for *arma . . . clausa*, the first accounting for the *needlessness* of arms, the second for their *undesirability.*

22. manus : *hands*, as in ch. 37, 2. **facile lasciviunt** : and are hence rendered incapable of effectual opposition. On the enervating effect of peace, see note ch. 14, 24.

23. neque . . . neque . . . ne . . . quidem : this polysyndeton is especially common in Tacitus, and in a descending climax, as here. also ch. 7, 3; 37, 9 f.

24. regia utilitas = *regibus utilitati*, a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον, although the nominative alone for the dative is frequent. Cp. note ch. 13, 7.

Chapter 45. **25. pigrum ac prope inmotum** : cp. note *Agr.* 10, 20, *mare pigrum*, the *aliud mare* being here used because *Oceanus* in the preceding chapter (ll. 9. 12. 22) designated the Baltic.

26. cludique terrarum orbem : cp. *Agr.* 33, 23 of northern Caledonia : *in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine*. **hinc fides** : *is proved by the fact.*

27. cadentis for *occidentis* is poetic. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* IV. 480, *Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem* ; Hor. *Carm.* III. 1, 27 ; Manil. IV. 791. Only the summer solstice is here, as in *Agr.* 12, 28 ff., taken into account, for the midnight sun probably no Roman eye had ever seen.

Page 56. **1. sidera hebetet** : a poetic phrase ; cp. Ovid, *Met.* V. 444, *dies hebetarat sidera* ; Val. Flacc. *Argon.* V. 371. **sonum . . . audiri** : this hissing sound was supposed to be due to the quenching of the solar fire in the ocean. It is first referred to by Epicurus, ἐμπίπτοντα τὸν ἥλιον τῷ ὠκεανῷ ψόφον ἐμποιεῖν σβεννύμενον ὡς διάπυρον σίδηρον ἐν ὕδατι ; thereafter frequently, e.g. Posidonius in *Strabo*, III. 1, 15 ; Stat. *Silv.* II. 7, 25, *strido, remque rota cadentis audis* ; Juv. XIV. 280. Tacitus stands alone in attributing the alleged phenomenon to the *rising* sun, but cp. our *break of day* ; Germ., *Tagesanbruch*. **emergentis** : sc. *solis ex Oceano*, also poetic for *orientis* So Cic. *Aratea*, 317 Ml., *sese emergens* (sc. *sol*).

2. formasque equorum : Tacitus' authorities may here have been misled by the Graeco-Roman conception of the chariot horses of Helios ; at least there is nothing to correspond to it in Germanic mythology, and Tacitus himself is sceptical as to the truth of the statement. See below. **radios capitis** : i.e. the *corona radiata* of Helios. The supposition that some vague information about the aurora borealis gave rise to the notion is untenable, for the author is speaking of sunrise. **persuasio** : *superstition, popular belief.* The word is often used in a similar sense by Tacitus, in contrast to *fides*, and *fama vera*, e.g. *Dial.* 26, 18 ; *Agr.* 11, 11 ; *Hist.* V. 5.

3. Illuc usque . . . natura : *up to this point only, and by true report, extends the world.* Cp. the interesting passage in Sen. Rhet. *Suas.* I. 1, *aiunt . . . ultraque Oceanum rursus alia litora, alium nasci orbem . . . facile ista finguntur . . . ita est rerum natura, post*

omnia Oceanus post Oceanum nihil. Tacitus held to the disk-shaped form of the earth; cp. notes *Agr.* 12, 32. 1. The confident assertion, *et fama vera*, may possibly be due to the information furnished by Agricola's circumnavigation of Britain.

4. **Ergo**: i.e. since the world is here at an end, I now turn to the east of the Baltic. **Suebici maris**: this designation for the Baltic occurs only here. Cp. note ch. 43, 19, *Suebia*. **Aestiorum gentes**: they belonged to the Balto-Slavic group and are the ancestors of the old Prussians, Lithuanians, and Letts. Their language, which to the untrained ear of traders (for it is to them that Tacitus' information is ultimately to be traced back) sounded like Celtic, would be alone sufficient to stamp the Aestii as non-Germanic; but the fact that language is one of the principal criteria of ethnical differentiation is a comparatively modern discovery, and Tacitus' error is, therefore, quite excusable.

5. **lingua Britannicae propior**: the British islands were conceived as much nearer to these regions than they are, and hence the linguistic relationship of some other Celtic tongue with that of the Aestii the more readily suggested itself to unscientific observers who had heard both spoken.

6. **Matrem deum**: i.e. *m. deorum*, as in *Ann.* IV. 64, *apud aedem Matris deum.* In all probability here the same as the *Terra mater*, or *Magna Mater Idaea*, mentioned ch. 40, 3, where see note. These cults were clearly distinguished by the Romans, but the wearing of animal symbols by the devotees of the *Magna Mater* and the similar practice noted among the Aestii were sufficient for the *interpretatio Romana* to identify the two deities.

7. **formas aprorum gestant**: the boar was a Germanic symbol of courage. Cp. Béowulf 304, —

> The boar's likeness shown:
> Over the visor, with gold adorned,
> Bright and firehardened, the boar kept guard.

8. **omnium**: neuter. Cp. note ch. 39, 21.

9. **Rarus . . . usus**: this would be in keeping with the peace-loving disposition of the Aestii, attested, as late as the 6th century, by Cassiodorus, *Var.* V. 2, *pacatum hominum genus omnino.*

10. **Frumenta ceterosque fructus**: *cereals and other fruits of the field.* **patientius**: *more energetically.* **pro solita Germanorum inertia**: cp. ch. 14, 24; 15, 6; 22, 27, and esp. 26, 18 ff.

11. laborant: *they cultivate.* As a transitive verb for *elaborare*, the verb is quite common in poetry; but in the sense called for here, it seems not to occur elsewhere. **et mare scrutantur**: as *mare* cannot mean *seashore* (cp. below, l. 13), the usual interpretation which regards this clause as a general statement more closely defined by the epexegetic *ac*, etc., is untenable. There is in all probability a reference here to *seal fisheries*, at least *Adam of Bremen* (11th century) still says of the Aestii, *pellibus abundant peregrinis;* and Tacitus himself seems to allude to the same occupation in ch. 17, 12, where *exterior Oceanus et ignotum mare* designates the Baltic. The identical phrase occurs *Agr.* 30, 30.

12. ac = *ac praeterea.* So often. **soli omnium**: sc. *Germanorum.* This statement flatly contradicts all that we know of the provenance of amber, for the Phoenicians brought it at a very early date from the shores of the *North Sea;* nor did Pytheas, cited by Pliny in his elaborate account of this substance (*N. H.* XXXVII. 2, 11, 31–51), have reference to any other regions; finally it was there that the Romans became acquainted with it in the expedition of Drusus (12 B.C.). The fact that Tacitus speaks only of the Baltic Aestii in this connection may imply that in his time the collection of amber on the shores of the North Sea had been wholly abandoned. In any case, it disproves the universal assumption that his account is based upon that of Pliny. See also below, and *Introd.* p. liii. **ipsi glaesum vocant**: this is a Teutonic word, the same as our *glass;* the Lettic languages, to which the Aestian belonged, style it *gentars*, *gentáras*, *dsintars;* but as Tacitus, misled by his authorities, regarded the Aestii as Suebic Germans, he naturally took *glaesum* to be their word for *sucinum.* Cp. also Plin. *N. H. l.c.* 42, *certum est . . . ab Germanis adpellari glaesum.*

13. quae natura (sc. *sit*) **quaeve ratio gignat**: *what is its character or what process gives rise to it.*

14. ut barbaris: i.e. *iis, ut in barbaris, as is to be expected among barbarians.* For this frequent use of *ut*, cp. note ch. 2, 8. On the subjective dative, see note ch. 3, 30. **quaesitum compertumve**: the former refers more particularly to *natura*, the latter to *ratio.* Cp. note ch. 2, 2. The following is one of the extremely few passages of the *Germania* alluded to by later writers, for Cassiodorus, in a letter to these very Aestii, gives them the information which they are here said to have lacked, *hoc quodam* (sic!) *Cornelio scribente legitur*, etc.

15. diu, etc.: the ancient amber trade of the North Sea was in the hands of the Phoenicians, and therefore of hoary antiquity. Under the name of ἤλεκτρον, amber is mentioned repeatedly in Homer, e.g. *Odyss.* IV. 73; XVIII. 296; also in Herod. III. 115, ἐξ ἐσχάτης Εὐρώπης . . . τὸ ἤλεκτρον. Subsequently it was brought south overland, one route leading to the Black Sea, the other through the territory of the Venedi, the southern neighbors of the Aestii, to Pannonia. Cp. esp. Plin. *N. H.* l.c. 43, *Veneti primum famam ei rei fecere proximique Pannoniae.* From what follows it would seem that amber as an article of adornment was not generally introduced among the Romans till the time of Nero, and it is upon this fact that Tacitus, ignoring as he does the older North Sea trade, apparently bases his otherwise unwarranted statement. **quin etiam**: on the anastrophe, cp. note ch. 3, 29. **eiectamenta**: probably a Tacitean coinage, found only here and in Apul. *Apol.* 35. The more vulgar *maris purgamentum*, is used e.g. by Pliny, *l.c.* 35.

16. iacebat: *lay neglected.* In this sense especially frequent in Cicero. In Tacitus again, *Ann.* XIII. 55. **luxuria nostra**: *the Roman love of luxury.* **dedit nomen**: sc. *sucino; brought into fashion, repute.* This meaning of *nomen* is generally common. With the thought, cp. Plin. *N. H. l.c.* 49, *in omnibus denique aliis vitiis aut ostentatio aut usus placet, in sucinis sola deliciarum conscientia;* and *Agr.* 12, 11 f. **Ipsis in nullo usu**: amber bracelets, amulets, utensils, weapons, etc., have been found in graves on Aestian territory belonging to the stone age. Tacitus was here misinformed.

17. rude legitur, informe perfertur: i.e. it is gathered in its rough, natural state, and brought to Rome in its shapeless form to be there manufactured. *Rude* and *informe* are again combined in *Dial.* 18, 5; 20, 12; *Ann.* XII. 35. **pretiumque mirantes accipiunt**: so Adam of Bremen says of the Aestii in general: *aurum et argentum pro minimo ducunt.*

18. tamen: i.e. although the Aestii themselves can give no information on the subject, the resinoid character of amber is apparent. **intellegas**: on this 'can-could-' potential, see note ch. 30, 5.

19. terrena quaedam . . . volucria: *crawling and winged creatures. Terrena*, of beings confined to the earth, occurs only here. Cp. with the collocation, Herod. I. 140, ἑρπετὰ καὶ πετηνά; Theocr. XV. 118, πετεηνὰ καὶ ἑρπετά; Schiller, *Was da kreucht und fleugt.* Among the animals found in amber, Plin. l.c. 46, mentions ants, gnats,

and lizards, to which Mart. IV. 32. 59, adds bees and snakes. These statements have been amply confirmed by modern observations.

20. plerumque: *often.* **mox**: *subsequently.*

21. cluduntur = *includuntur.* Simple for compound verbs are noticeably frequent in this chapter. See above, ll. 13. 17, *legunt, legitur*, for *conlegunt, conlegitur*; 23, *sudantur* for *exsudantur*; 25, *labuntur* for *delabuntur.* **Fecundiora**: *rather fertile.*

22. lucosque: sc. *esse*, easily supplied from the *inesse* following, particularly as the latter is equivalent to *esse in.* **Orientis secretis**: *in the remote regions of the East.* So Amm. Marc. XXIII. 6, 33, *Indiae secreta penetraret.* Cp. also ch. 41, 18; *Hist.* III. 63, *secreta Campaniae.* **tura balsamaque**: frankincense came from the Arabian Sabaeans (Verg. *Georg.* II. 117), balsam chiefly from the gardens of Jericho in Palestine.

23. sudantur: *are distilled from.* For the passive, cp. Ovid, *Met.* X. 388, *sudataque ligno tura.*

24. quae: *matter which.* **vicini solis**: the close proximity of the sun is naturally inferred from line 1, *sonum*, etc. In virtue of this alleged fact, its heat was correspondingly intensified, and hence believed to be as effective as the high temperature of the East. For a similar pseudo-scientific explanation of natural phenomena, paraded with a similar air of superior knowledge, cp. *Agr.* 12, 1 f.

25. labuntur . . . exundant: we should expect the subjunctive, but the indicative in *oratio obliqua* is one of the characteristic features of Tacitean style. **adversa** = *contraria.* So often; with *litora*, as here, e.g. Mela, I. 108.

26. exundant: *are thrown up.*

27. in modum taedae accenditur: *it burns like a torch*; hence its German name *Bernstein* (*burning stone*). **alitque**: *produces.* So of a flame, *Hist.* III. 71; *Ann.* XV. 38. **pinguem**: *thick.* Cp. Ovid, *Tr.* V. 5, 11, *tura pingues facientia flammas.*

28. olentem = *male olentem.* Often in poetry, e.g. Hor. *Carm.* I. 17, 7; Ovid, *ex Ponto*, II. 10, 25; but seemingly not elsewhere in prose. **in**: *into something like.* Cp. ch. 23, 12. **lentescit**: *becomes sticky, viscous.* So e.g. Verg. *Georg.* II. 250.

29. Suionibus: probably an ablative of association rather than a dative. So also *Agr.* 41, 24. **Sitŏnum**: a people mentioned only here. The statement that they were ruled by women is generally said to owe its origin to a confusion between *kainulaiset, men of the lowlands*, and a Teutonic root seen in English *queen* (Anglo-Saxon *cwēn*,

meaning *wife*, *woman*, or *queen*). In Alfred the Great's *Orosius*, it is said that Suiones *regnant usque ad terram feminarum*, and Adam of Bremen, doubtless identifying, albeit erroneously, Aestland with the land of the Aestii, tells us that it was situated *terrae feminarum proxima*, and inhabited by a race of Amazons, concerning whom he relates many fabulous tales. In view of this ignorance, as late as the 11th century, Tacitus' simple statement shows a commendable self-restraint. The Sitones were unquestionably Finns, not Germans, but Tacitus restricts the latter to the mainland. **continuantur**: *follow closely upon.*

30. in tantum: so often in Tacitus for the more usual *tantum*. See note *Dial.* 2, 15, *in quantum*; 24, 27; 32, 16, *in tantum*.

Page 57. Chapter 46. **1. Peucinorum**: they originally dwelt on Πεύκη (*Pine*), an island in the lower Danube. They were a mere branch of the *Bastarnae*, but their Germanic character was unjustly regarded as doubtful. Cp. Strabo (i.e. Polybius?) VII. 3, 17, σχεδόν τι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ γένους ὄντες (sc. οἱ Βαστάρναι), εἰς πλείω φῦλα διηρημένοι . . . Πευκῖνοι. But in Plin. *N. H.* IV. 13, 28, 99, they constitute one of the five groups of Germanic tribes. **Vĕnĕdorum**: the later Slavs, called *Wenden* by the Germans themselves, which is supposed to be a generic name, meaning *nomads*. **Fĕnnorum**: the Finns. This is their earliest mention and their name occurs in no later Roman writer.

2. Sarmatis: here used in a wider sense than in ch. 1, 2, where see note.

3. Bastarnas: for their location, see map. They are the first Germanic people to appear in history, Philip III. of Macedon having, in 179 B.C., induced them to aid him in his war against the Romans; but he died before anything could be accomplished. Under their leader, Clondicus, they offered to furnish 20,000 men to his successor, Perseus, but the latter alienated them by his parsimony. Their customs and manners were accurately described by Polybius, the chief source of later writers. All that we know of this warlike, populous race stamps them as Germans, and Tacitus' passing doubt is based only on one observation which, even if true, need not have been generally applicable. **cultu**: *manner of living*. **sede**: *fixed habitation.*

4. domiciliis: *mode of building houses*. **agunt**: *they conduct themselves, act*. Cp. ch. 19, 6; 29, 12. **Sordes omnium**: *the com-*

mon people are untidy, the result of their poverty. Cp. ch. 28, 18; Caes. *B. G.* VI. 24, 4. On *omnium* as opposed to *procerum*, elsewhere to *principes*, see note ch. 11, 31.

5. torpor procerum: this is also according to Tacitus a conspicuous trait of the German nobility. Cp. 14, 24; 15, 7 ff.; 22, 27; 45, 11. **Conubiis . . . foedantur**: *by intermarriages they have to some extent acquired the homely appearance of the Sarmatae.* This fact is given as the only feature that might possibly militate against the assumption of the Germanic character of the Peucini, in view of what the author had asserted in ch. 4, 5 f.

6. multum ex moribus traxerunt: i.e. not only the Venedi, like the Peucini, lost the handsome appearance of Germans through the same cause, but they also contracted many of the habits of the Sarmatae. The chief of these is stated in the *nam* clause, namely, their life of plunder. This Sarmatian trait — for with other German tribes it was not habitual (cp. note ch. 14, 1) — is again pointed out, *Hist.* I. 79, *praedae magis quam pugnae intenta . . . cupidine praedae.*

8. erigitur: *rises*, the passive being, as often in Tacitus, used as a middle. Of rising ground, e.g. ch. 27, 29; Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 416, *insula . . . erigitur; Hist.* V. 6, *praecipuum montium Libanum erigit* (sc. Iudaea). Although Ptolemaeus also speaks of Οὐενεδικὰ ὄρη, there are no mountains of any size in these regions, nor does Tacitus state this positively, as *quidquid* implies. **Hi**: i.e. *Venedi.*

9. potius referuntur: sc. *quam inter Sarmatas.* **domos figunt**: with the expression, cp. *Ann.* XIII. 54, *iamque fixerant domos.*

10. scuta gestant: cp. *Hist.* I. 79, *neque enim scuto defendi mos est* (sc. Sarmatis). **pedum usu ac pernicitate**: cp. *Hist.* l.c. *equorum pernicitate.*

11. Sarmatis = *apud Sarmatas.* Cp. ch. 45, 14, *barbaris.* The usual interpretation, which takes this as a shortened comparison (*comparatio compendiaria*) for *Sarmatarum moribus*, is incompatible with *viventibus.* **in plaustro**: contrasted with *domos figunt.* This mode of life is often ascribed to the Scythians, a race closely related to, if not identical with, the Sarmatians. Cp. Pindar, *fragm.* 72 (82), ἁμαξοφόρητον οἶκον; Herod. IV. 46; Hor. *Carm.* III. 24, 10, *plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos;* Amm. Marc. XXII. 8, 42. It led to the invention of a tribe, styled Ἁμαξόβιοι. See Mela, II. 2. Observe that the author gives no *diversitas*, corresponding to *scuta gestant*, because, unlike the other two features, the simple negation naturally suggested itself in this case.

The following highly rhetorical passage furnishes the best extant example of the fanciful idealization of unknown northern races so characteristic of the ancients from Homer down. Cp. *Introd.* p. lxiii. All the Germanic traits of the Fenni are accentuated, while the ethnical distinctions are all carefully enumerated and invested with a halo of romance. Some of the colors of the picture seem to have been contributed by Lucretius. See below.

13. non . . . non . . . non: on the anaphora here and again ll. 19. 22, see *Introd.* p. lxvii. **penates**: i.e. they have no family life or fixed habitations. Cp. ch. 15, 8; 25, 1 f. **victui herba**: i.e. they have no agriculture, but such vegetable food as they use grows wild. This could, of course, be true only for the summer, but Tacitus habitually ignores the winter in his account of the remote north, doubtless because the information available to him was originally gathered by traders who would visit these regions only in summer. See ll. 18 f. and note ch. 45, 26. The slight contradiction between this statement and l. 15 f. must not be too closely pressed in a description so largely imaginative, particularly as it may have been in part caused by the Lucretian reminiscence cited below.

14. cubile humus: *cubile* for *cubili* is intentionally used to mark the close of the asyndeton, similar devices being characteristic of Tacitean style. The same phrase occurs, e.g. Curt. III. 2, 5, 15. With the entire passage, cp. Lucret. V. 816, *terra cibum pueris, vestem vapor, herba cubile.* **solae . . . opes**: *their only resources consist in*, as contrasted with the primitive conditions just mentioned (*non arma . . . humus*). **quas . . . ossibus asperant**: *whose points they tip with bone.* This is said to have been the practice of the Sarmatians (Pausan. I. 21, 5) and the Huns (Amm. Marc. XXXI. 2, 9), and it is still in vogue in Lapland and in northern Siberia.

16. alit: the verb is here perhaps used in the figurative sense of *giving occupation to*, for to say that both men and women partook of the game is a gratuitous and self-evident statement, not to mention that *partem . . . petunt* would thus be an intolerable tautology. The whole passage simply describes an active out-door life, taken up for the most part with the chase. **passim**: *in all directions*, derived from *pando, to spread.* In Tacitus this meaning occurs only here and *Hist.* I. 81; *Ann.* VI. 50; XI. 32. **comitantur**: sc. *feminae viros.* **partem praedae petunt**: alliterative. The entire statement is confirmed by Procopius (6th century), whose description of the Fenni in general is in remarkable agreement with the account of Tacitus.

17. aliud . . . contegantur: this, whether true or false, is also only applicable to the summer season. The passage seems to be an echo of Lucret. V. 955 ff., *cavosque montis silvasque colebant Et frutices inter condebant squalida membra Verbera ventorum vitare imbrisque coacti*; 970 f., *membra Nuda dabant terrae . . . Circum se foliis ac frondibus involventes*; 982 ff., *saecla ferarum Infestam miseris faciebant saepe quietem . . . intempesta cedebant nocte paventes Hospitibus saevis instrata cubilia fronde.* **ferarum imbriumque**: objective genitives. Cp. Plin. *Epist.* IX. 39, 2, *suffugium aut imbris aut solis*; *Ann.* IV. 66, *malorum suffugium*; and note ch. 16, 30, where *receptaculum* is also used with *suffugium.*

18. aliquo = *quodam*, as in *Dial.* 39, 10, *aliquis oratorum campus.* **ramorum**, etc: with the statement, cp. Herod. IV. 23 ὑπὸ δενδρέῳ δὲ ἕκαστος κατοίκηται (sc. the Scythian Argippaeans). Similar huts, made of birch bark, are found e.g. among the Karagassians of Siberia and the Laplanders, but only in summer.

19. senum receptaculum: i.e. as no longer capable of hunting.

20. beatius arbitrantur: i.e. *sic se b. vivere a.* **ingemere agris** = *gemere in agris.* Cp. Lucret. V. 209. *bidenti Ingemere*; Verg. *Georg.* I. 45, *aratro ingemere*; Hor. *Epod.* V. 31, *ingemens laboribus.* The dative after compound verbs is in poetry and post-Augustan prose frequently used in a *local* sense; so *agris*, *domibus* here. Cp. also ch. 10, 7; 27, 28; 45, 23.

21. inlaborare domibus = *laborare in domibus*, *to work indoors.* The usual interpretation *to labor over house-buildings* is out of place after what has preceded, and is based upon the non-recognition of the local use of the dative. The verb is a word coined by Tacitus for the purpose of balancing the clause with *ingemere agris.* Cp. note ch. 16, 30. Probably the latter refers more particularly to men, *inlaborare domibus* to women; at least, Procopius expressly states that the Finnish women do no housework, that they hang their children wrapped in skins in trees, and then go hunting with the men. **suas**, etc.: *they do not handle wealth, either their own or that of others*, i.e. they engage in no commercial or financial transactions. **spe metuque**: i.e. amid *hope* of gain and *fear* of loss, they are not worried, as they take no risks either way.

22. securi, etc.: *unconcerned.* This probably contains a final hit at Roman conditions. Having no wealth, the Fenni do not, like the Romans, attract legacy-hunters or the covetousness of the emperor, nor do they excite the envy of the deity.

23. rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt: cp. *Agr.* 4, 21, *retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.* **illis ne voto quidem opus esset**: according to Socrates, to desire little is divine, but he who desires least is nearest to the godhead. These half-human savages have, however, gone even beyond this. Tacitus in his rhetorical flight has here reached the grotesque. Cp., however, Justin II. 2, 9, of the Scythians, *haec continentia illis morum quoque iustitiam edidit nihil alienum concupiscentibus, quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido est, ubi et usus . . . hoc illis naturam dare quod Graeci longa sapientium doctrina praeceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultosque mores incultae barbariae conlatione superari. tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio quam in his cognitio virtutis.*

24. Cetera iam fabulosa: *all else from here on belongs to legend*, implying that the preceding statements were, in Tacitus' judgment, satisfactorily authentic. **Hellusios**: Plin. *N. H.* IV. 14, 27, 96, probably mentions the same people under the name *Hilleviones*, but he places them in Scandinavia. **Oxiŏnas**: the MSS. have different readings, such as *Etionas*, which is preferred by some; but neither name occurs elsewhere.

25. ora, etc.: the imagination of the ancients peopled these unknown regions with many similar monsters, and even as late as Adam of Bremen, we learn of men with canine heads on their breasts, of cannibals, Amazons, and giants. Norse mythology is significantly full of like creatures. It is, however, quite possible that the particular fact here reported may have been based upon the impression which men covered with the skins of wild beasts made upon Roman observers. A similar statement is found in Tac. *Ann.* II. 24, *ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas*, and the *ut incompertum*, etc., implies that he was not quite prepared to reject these reports as impossible.

26. in medium relinquam: Aulus Gellius (*N. A.* XVII. 2, 11) says that *in medio* was the more common, but that the accusative is *probabilius significantiusque*, it being used on the analogy of the Greek *θεῖναι ἐς μέσον.*

CRITICAL APPENDIX TO THE GERMANIA.

The textual history of the *Germania*, as far as those MSS. are concerned upon which a recension must be primarily based, is identical with that of the *Dialogus* (cp. my *Prolegomena*, pp. CXX. ff.), for the attempts recently made to exalt the value of other MSS. have been admitted failures. Cp. R. Wuensch, *De Taciti Germaniae codicibus Germanicis*, Dissert. Marburg, 1893.

The readings of *Halm*[4] precede the bracket. *A* (Halm's B) = Vaticanus 1862; *B* (b) = Leidensis; *C* (F) = Neapolitanus; *D* (C) = Vaticanus 1518; *V* = Vindobonensis 711; H = Hummelianus.

PH. refers to my article *Zur Germania des Tacitus*, in *Philologus* LVIII. (1899), pp. 25–44.

Chapter **2**, line 12. **additum**] *auditum* — E. Wolff, in the Appendix to his edition, Leipzig, 1896. Cp. also *PH.* p. 25, note 2.

2, 13 (p. 33). **ac nunc Tungri**] ⟨*ac nunc Tungri*⟩. To the proofs of the spuriousness of this clause, adduced in *PH.* p. 28–30, should be added that *quoniam qui . . . expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani* (*νῦν μὲν . . . τότε δέ*) is as impossible in Latin, as *since those who . . . expelled ⟨and⟩ are now called Tungri, but were then called Germani* would be in English. The reading of the Leidensis, *ut* for *ac*, shows that Pontanus recognized the intolerable solecism, but not the remedy.

4, 4. **opinioni**] *opinionibus* — MSS. Cp. *PH.* p. 40.

4, 5. **⟨aliis⟩**] *aliis.* — MSS. See note ad loc.

4, 12. **solove**] *soloque.* Cp. note ad loc. and below ch. 38, 9.

5, 16. **inpatiens**] ⟨in⟩ *patiens* — Tross.

5, 18. **aut**] *et*. As *gloria frontis* virtually expresses the same idea as *suus honor*, being merely added for the sake of nearer definition, an alternative *aut* for *et* is quite of place. I have, therefore, had no

hesitation in making the change in accordance with the consistent usage of Tacitus, on which see *Introd.* p. lxviii. The two conjunctions are habitually confounded in our MSS.; so e.g. ch. 7, 13.

5, 30. **Argentum quoque**] *Argentumque* — H. Schütz. *And besides, moreover*, is a frequent meaning of initial *-que*. If *quoque* were correct, *sequuntur quoque argentum*, etc., would have been called for. *Quoque* and *-que* are also repeatedly confused in our MSS. Cp. e.g. *Dial.* ch. 22, 32, *locosque* for *locos quoque;* 34, 25, *hodie quoque* for *hodieque;* Liv. I. 17, 19; XL. 12, 10.

8, 24. **Albrunam**] †*Albrunam.* The name is hopelessly corrupted in our MSS., the generally accepted emendation of Wackernagel being based upon a purely conjectural etymology. See also note ad loc.

9, 30. **liburnae**] *liburnicae.* See *PH.* p. 30 f.

10, 10. **consultetur**] *consulitur* — Walch; *consuletur* — MSS. See note ad loc.

10, 22. **sed apud proceres: sacerdotes enim**] *a. p. sed a. s., se enim.* Halm, *Controverse Stellen*, etc., in *Berichte der Münch. Akad.* 1864, p. 30, suggested the transposition of *sed.* It is omitted before *apud proceres* in all but two MSS., one of these being of no authority. The particle was doubtless written above the line in the archetype, and hence some scribes inserted it in the wrong place, the great majority overlooking it altogether. *Se enim*, on the other hand, is found in all the MSS. See also note ad loc.

10, 25. **explorant**] *explorantur* — B; *exploratur* — AB². The passive plural seems to me preferable. Similar variants, owing to abbreviations of the endings, are exceedingly common in MSS. In this treatise, e.g. the following readings, ch. 6, 12, *distinguuntur;* 27, 25, *observatur;* 44, 7, *regnant;* 45, 30, *differuntur*, are untenable.

11, 1. **praetractentur**] *pertractentur* — MSS., except CD²V. The error was due to the abbreviation $\tilde{p}r$. Cp. *PH.* p. 40.

11, 9. **turba**] *turbae* — MSS. The conjecture of Gronovius, though accepted by many, is rendered impossible by the context of the preceding clause. *Ut turbae placuit* is but another *vitium ex libertate.* If this hypothetical chairman could have called the great assembly to order (for with *turba placuit* we must supply *praesidi*) whenever he saw what appeared to him a sufficiently large number to constitute a 'quorum,' the phrase *nec ut iussi conveniunt* would involve a contradiction.

11, 11. **princeps**] *principes* — Perizonius. Cp. *PH.* p. 40.

13, 6. **ceteri**] *certis*. See *PH.* pp. 31–33; *ceteris* — MSS.

14, 28. **tueare**] *tuentur* — AB. On the change of subject see note ad loc. Two distinct statements are made, one concerning the *comites* and another about the *princeps*; a potential subjunctive with the indefinite second person is, therefore, out of place.

15, 5. **non multum**] ⟨*non*⟩ *multum* — Lipsius. Cp. *PH.* p. 41 f.

16, 30. **hiemis**] *hiemi* — MSS. See note ad loc.

18, 21. **pluribus**] *plurimis* — MSS. See note ad loc.

18, 22. To begin the chapter with *Dotem*, as Halm and others do, rudely destroys the skilful transition. See note ad loc.

18, 23. I should prefer to read *aut* for *et*. Cp. ch. 13, 1, *pater vel propinqui*; and above, ch. 5, 18.

19, 6. **saepta**] *saeptae* — early printed editions. Apart from the rhetorical justification of this reading as given in note ad loc., it is confirmed by numerous passages, in none of which the participle agrees with the ablative of the abstract noun. E.g. Cic. *Parad.* IV. 1, 27, *animus . . . virtutibus . . . saeptus*; *Brut.* 96, 330, *saeptam* (sc. eloquentiam) *liberali custodia*; Liv. III. 44, 4, *omnia pudore saepta*.

19, 20. **maritum . . . matrimonium**] *matrimonium . . . maritum*. On this transposition, see *PH.* p. 34 f. and note ad loc.

22, 29. **occupat**] *occupet* — Prammer. The error arose out of *occupt̃*, for *ut qui* in Tacitus and elsewhere invariably takes the subjunctive. Halm strangely defends the indicative by referring to ch. 17, 9, where the verb is *omitted*.

22, 8. **ioci**] *loci* — A²B²H. See *PH.* pp. 42–44.

23, 17 f. **Si . . . vincentur**] ⟨*Si . . . vincentur*⟩. That this short paragraph cannot have been written by Tacitus has been shown at length in *PH.* pp. 34–38. In this place, therefore, a brief enumeration of the reasons which prompted the deletion may suffice.

(1) *Indulseris* and *ebrietati*, to fit into the context at all, must be invested with meanings which these words do not appear to have elsewhere, namely, to *encourage*, and *love of drink*. (2) *vitiis*. The faults which Tacitus imputes to the Germans are their *laziness*, their *inebriety*, and their *passion for gambling*. But as these were exhibited only in times of peace, there was no reason why the Germans should have been unfit for a vigorous defence against the Roman invaders, as they themselves had been taught often enough. (3) *haud minus facile*. This litotes (*not less easily*) is nowhere, either in Tacitus or in other writers, equivalent to the simple *comparative*;

it is, therefore, equivalent to *aeque facile*, not = *facilius;* but this involves an irreconcilable contradiction with ch. 37, 7. 24. (4) It is psychologically incredible that a man of Tacitus' rank, insight, and disposition should have seriously advised his countrymen that the best way to subdue their old enemy would be to start a beer brewery, with a view to dispensing the German beverage free of cost, and in unlimited quantities, implying at the same time that the Germans would gladly have accepted it, as not being supplied already with *quantum concupiscunt*, a surmise flatly contradicted by ch. 22. Moreover, this grotesque and absurdly impracticable scheme constitutes the *only* policy which the great historian ventured to suggest in the entire treatise — a treatise which many scholars, albeit erroneously, regard as a political pamphlet, primarily designed for Trajan and directed against Roman jingoes! (5) Finally the pointed phrase, *haud . . . vincentur*, is, quite unlike the numerous other epigrammatic expressions of this author, not only utterly inappropriate, because demonstrably false, but it also bears a suspicious resemblance to Justin I. 8, 7, *prius Scythae ebrietate quam bello vincuntur*, where the sentiment is, however, in perfect keeping with the context and not open to any of the objections above referred to; but Tacitus was not in the habit of borrowing epigrams or of misapplying those of others. The entire passage is clearly a marginal note of some ancient reader which subsequently was tagged on to the close of the chapter, and it was written at a time when *triumphati magis quam victi* (ch. 37, 24) had ceased to be applicable to the Germans, i.e. about the 5th century A.D.

25, 32. **Ceteris**] *Ceterum* — Wolff. To the reasons given by W. for his emendation, we may add that *utuntur* is incompatible with *ceteris*, for the *servi condicionis huius*, with which it is contrasted, were *not used at all* by the Germans, either *in Germanorum* or *Romanorum morem*.

25, 32. **discriptis**] *descriptis* — MSS. No reliance can be placed upon the MSS. in the orthography of compounds with *di* or *de*, but *describere ministeria officia*, *res*, and the like seems to have been the standard usage.

25, 4. Ch. 15, 8 f. 20, 24 ff., render it extremely doubtful whether children, i.e. before the fifteenth year, when they were invested with arms (cp. ch. 13, 31 ff.), would be called upon to do household duties. I am, therefore, strongly inclined to believe that Tacitus wrote *liberti*. This would also at once account for the statement made immediately below, *liberti non multum supra servos sunt*, for Tacitus had pre-

viously, according to the traditional text, said nothing about *liberti*, but had spoken only of *servi*.

25, 11. **ceteros** seems to have been assimilated to *impares*, for we expect *ceteras*, sc. *gentes quae regnantur*.

26, 15. The correct reading can no longer be determined with confidence. I believe that the corruption arose out of *inter se in vicesecundum*, the scribe having by an oversight written *inter se* for its less common equivalent *in vicē(m)*, but noticing his error, he, in order not to spoil the page, wrote the correct reading after it, — a very frequent practice; or else *in vicē* was an old variant for *inter se* and was accidentally inserted after *universis*, where it yields no sense. Some such process of corruption seems to me far more plausible than the assumption that *in vices* is a dittography of *universis*, or that it represents an original *vicis* (villages).

28, 11. **Helvetii, ulteriora Boii**] *Helvetii citeriora, ulteriora Boii*. Möller, in *Zeitsch. f. deutsches Alterth.* vol. XXXVIII. p. 26, inserted *citeriora* before *Helvetii*, which emendation was paleographically improved upon by Woelfflin, *ibid. Anzeiger*, p. 207.

30, 21 f. **Chatti: initium . . . incohatur**] *Chatti initium . . . incohant* — MSS. with the exception of A.

30, 23. **durant siquidem**] *durantes quidem*, i.e. *while the hills do, indeed, continue, they*, etc. This seems to me a simpler emendation of the MSS. than any of the numerous suggestions to remedy the passage which have hitherto been made. Zöchbauer in *Serta Harteliana*, pp. 241 ff. (1896), reads *durantisque* (sc. sedis) *dum*. This conjecture is also simple, but quite unacceptable, because of the intolerable hyperbaton, unprecedented even in T.; nor does he elsewhere join a participle to a noun, as the governing verb of a *dum* clause.

30, 7. **parere**] *parare* — MSS. Cp. ch. 14, 4, *sanguine parare*; 24, 22, *artem paravit*; *Dial.* 34, 12 f., *famam . . . parari*; 36, 12; *Ann.* II. 14; and frequently elsewhere in Tacitus. There is, therefore, no necessity for discarding the MSS., although *victoriam parere* is a stereotyped phrase. Cp. *Hist.* I. 57; III. 82; IV. 79; *Ann.* IV. 51; XIV. 36; Liv. XXVII. 31, 3; XXX. 14, 7. This very fact may well have prompted Tacitus to choose the less hackneyed expression. See ch. 46, 26.

31, 23. **visu nova: nam**, etc. As *visu nova* is in *apposition* to the preceding, *semper* cannot be supplied, but without this, the *nam* clause hangs completely in the air. This difficulty is done away with, if we take *visu* as a dative, as in Lucret. V. 101, or, should this

archaism be thought inadmissible, if we write *visui* (sc. Romanorum), a conjecture which scarcely involves any change at all (*visunova*). We thus secure a perfectly Tacitean *asyndeton bimembre*. *Semper* may now be legitimately supplied, *nam*, etc., pointing out that this peculiar attire of the Chatti was always a source of astonishment to the Romans, because it was retained even in times of peace.

33, 8. **penitus**] *paene tum*. Cp. *PH.* p. 38 f.

33, 15. **urguentibus**] *urgentibus*. This is demonstrably the more correct orthography.

35, 2. **recedit**] *redit* — MSS. Simply because of a parallel use of *recedere* in Pomp. Mela, III. 1, 8, editors have followed Heraeus in rejecting a wholly unobjectionable word against the unanimous testimony of the MSS. But, not to mention that an emendation not called for by textual corruption, excellent though it be, is *ipso facto* false, the same figurative use of *redire* is found not only in Verg. *Georg.* III. 351, a noteworthy parallelism in view of the extensive indebtedness of Tacitus to Vergilian phraseology (see *Introd.* p. lxx), but it actually occurs *twice* in none other than *Mela* himself. See note ad loc.

35, 10. The repeated collocation in Tacitus of *raptus* and *latrocinia* leaves no doubt in my mind that he here, also, as elsewhere, wrote *et* (*ac*) not *aut*.

35, 11. **idque**, at the beginning of a sentence, is far more common than *id* in Tacitus. Cp. esp. *Hist.* IV. 36, *idque praecipuum*. Where *-que* is omitted, as in *Hist.* II. 96, *id praecipuum; Germ.* 45, 7, it is significantly followed by $\widetilde{pr}$, with which $\widetilde{qu}$ is constantly confused. It is, therefore, highly probable that we have here only another instance of a familiar haplography.

35, 13. **poscat ⟨exercitus⟩, plurimum**] *poscat*, *exercitus* (sc. *est*) *plurimorum*. This simple emendation of the much molested passage merely involves the assumption of an easily neglected solution of a compendium. The deletion of *exercitus*, on the other hand, is methodically quite unjustifiable, as are all the other changes hitherto proposed. Nor can *exercitus* be taken as the object of *poscat*, for *si* (*ut*, *prout*) *res poscit* is a formulaic parenthesis of especially frequent occurrence in Tacitus.

36, 20. **superiori**] *superioris* — MSS. A certain instance of the dative with *nomen*, though exceedingly common in other writers, is perhaps found in Tacitus only ch. 43, 27, the *s* immediately following rendering a dogmatic decision here, as in *Ann.* I. 36, somewhat haz-

ardous, while in other passages we have either a nominative or else indecisive first declension forms. In any case, the dative is not only not indispensable, but the plural *nomina* seems somehow to lend support to the reading of our MSS. For the genitive with *nomen*, cp. *Hist.* IV. 18 ; *Ann.* XIV. 50, 61.

37, 4. **Caecilio Metello et Papirio Carbone**] *Caecilio Metello Papirio Carbone* — The MSS. vary between *ac* and *et*, which may here point to the absence of any conjunction in the archetype. In any case, the present passage would be the solitary and inexplicable exception to the rule followed by Tacitus. Cp. Macke, *Die röm. Eigennamen bei Tacitus*, Progr. Hadersleben I. (1886) p. 19 : "Die Konsulate mit *Doppelnamen* zeigen als Regel das *Asyndeton* . . . In der *absoluten* Construction steht bei gelegenthicher Zeitangabe 'et' nur *Germ.* 37."

37, 14. **Cassio**] *L. Cassio* — Ritter. At the first mention of an individual, Tacitus, with but few certain exceptions in the *Dialogus*, always gives two names. Thus *Carbone* immediately preceding, but *Papirio Carbone* above, l. 5.

38, 6. The reading of the MSS. *retro sequuntur* is unintelligible, but no plausible emendation has hitherto been suggested. I have, nevertheless, put *retorquent*, the generally accepted conjecture of Madvig, into the text, because it gives the sense called for.

38, 8. I believe *eo*, not *ea*, represents the original reading.

38, 9. **ament amenturve**] *ament amenturque*. Cp. note ad loc. The confusion between *-ve* and *-que* is very common. Cp. ch. 4, 12.

38, 10. **compti ⟨ut⟩**] *comptius* — Lachmann.

39, 11. **Vetustissimos**] *Vetustissimos se* — ABD. See note ad loc.

39, 23. **pagi iis habitantur**] *pagis* (MSS.) *habitant* — Ernesti. Cp. above, 10, 25.

40, 1. **Vitones**] † *Vitones*. Cp. Muellenhoff, *D. A.* IV. p. 567.

40, 10. If we may trust the MSS. of Tacitus, he prefered *clusum* to *clausum*.

40, 13. **vestes**] *vestis* — Andresen.

42, 1. **Naristi**] *Varisti* — Muellenhoff, *D. A.* IV. 535 f. This form is preferable, though not certain.

42, 5. **praecingitur**, Tagmann's conjecture for the intolerable *peragitur* seems to be confirmed by the Vaticanus 2964, *percigitur* (p̃rcĩgt̃r).

43, 12. **claudunt**] *cludunt*. See above.

43, 23. **Helveconas**] *Helvaeonas* — Muellenhoff, l.c. p. 562.

44, 7–11. Zernial and others end ch. 43 with this paragraph, but

this conjecture is refuted by the epigram (*primi — vincuntur*), which, as usual in this treatise, marks the close of a chapter.

45, 3. **si fama vera**] *et famā verā* — MSS. i.e. *et quidem f. v.* It is, however, equally probable that *fama vera* represents the original, the *et* being, in that case, due to *scriptura continua* (*usquefama*) ; *si* is, in any case, quite unjustifiable. Cp. *Agr.* 30, 23 f. ; 33, 23.

45, 8. **omnique**] *omniumque* (= *omnium rerum*) — MSS. See note ad loc.

45, 14. **ut barbaris** may be plausibly explained as in note ad loc., or with ellipsis of *moris est*, but possibly Tacitus wrote *ut in barbaris* = *apud barbaros.* Cp. *Ann.* XII. 28, *apud posteros, in quīs.*

45, 22. **sicut**] *et sicut* — *J. Maehly*, in Zacher's *Zeitschr.* VIII. 251. This simple emendation disposes of the difficulties to which this passage has given rise.

45, 29 ff. H. Schütz, followed e.g. by Muellenhoff, Zernial, and Wolff, have placed the words *Suionibus — degenerant* after ch. 44, 24. The reasoning which prompted so bold a conjecture has been refuted by I. F. Marcks, *Festschr. zur 43. Versamml. deutsch. Philol. zu Köln*, 1895, p. 177 ff., but the transposition is equally untenable on external grounds. (1) It is paleographically out of the question. (2) Chapter 44 already closes with an epigram ; on the other hand, it is not probable that the entire description of Suebia from ch. 38–44, would have ended without one. (3) Such a transposition must consistently include the clause *Hic Suebiae finis*, but this would be absurd after ch. 44, 24, as the Suebic Aestii are subsequently discussed, and at the same time ch. 46 would open too abruptly, without any hint being given that the following tribes are non-Suebic. (4) *Hic Suebiae finis* cannot follow directly upon the close of a non-geographical excursus. (5) And finally, the advocates of the transposition are compelled to change *Suionas* (ch. 45, 25) to *Sitonas*, a procedure of itself sufficient to vindicate the MS. tradition.

45, 32. **Hic Suebiae finis** has hitherto been taken as the beginning of ch. 46. It seems to me, however, to be more appropriately placed at the close of the long account of the Suebi.

46, 5. **torpor : ora procerum**] *torpor procerum* — MSS. See *PH.* p. 44 and note ad loc.

46, 6. **ex moribus**] *et ex moribus. Conubiis . . . foedantur* is unquestionably intended to apply to the *Venedi* no less than to the *Peucini*, but the following is as clearly given as a trait not common to both. *Et* (= *etiam*) must, therefore, be added. The omission of

an *et* before *ex* (or *ex* after *et*) is a frequent scribal error. Cp. Drakb. on Liv. V, 32, 4; and Tac. *Dial.* 12, 10.

46, 10. **et pernicitate**] *ac pernicitate.* This is demanded by consistent Tacitean usage. There are but three polysyndetic members joined by *et*, the last being as usually amplified, *usu ac pernicitate* forming a single, independent group.

46, 14. **cubili**] *cubile* — MSS. See note ad loc. and Zernial[2] p. 108.

46, 14. **spes.** The reading of the MSS. seems incompatible with ch. 46, 23, *rem . . . opus esset.* I have, therefore, followed Halm in accepting Meiser's easy emendation *opes.*

46, 24. **Oxionas**] †*Oxionas.* The name, corrupted in the MSS., cannot be determined with certainty, in spite of Muellenhoff, *D. A.* II. 354 f.

46, 26. **in medio**] *in medium* — MSS. Cp. note ad loc. The fact that *in medio relinquere* was the more common expression would have been a sufficient reason for Tacitus to reject it. The unanimity of the MSS., moreover, retaining, as they do, the *difficilior lectio*, ought also to count for something in this case.

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